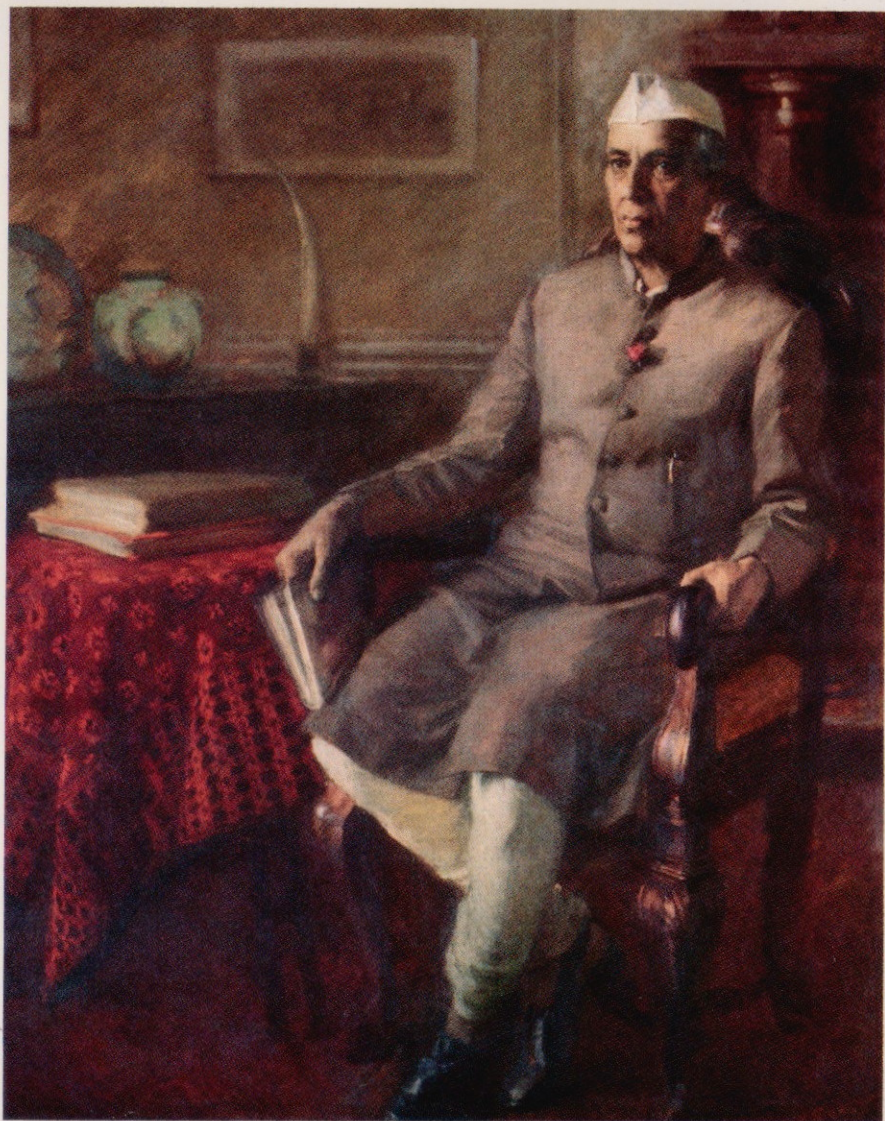


Jawaharlal
Nehru

CENTENARY VOLUME

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
Centenary Volume



Jawaharlal Nehru
Painting by Finagenov

Rashtrapati Bhawan

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Centenary Volume

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A SHAPER OF HISTORY

R. Venkataraman

President of India

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU wrote in his 'Will and Testament' these memorable words:

Many have been admired, some have been revered, but the affection of all classes of the Indian people has come to me in such abundant measure that I have been overwhelmed by it.

Today, a hundred years after his birth and over two decades after his passing, it is difficult to say who overwhelmed whom, Nehru or India. If Nehru could palpably feel the love that the people of India bore for him, the reverse was equally true. The people of India were drawn to him in a manner that was altogether unique. One might in fact say India was in love with him. Gandhiji recognized this phenomenon and a few days before his assassination, wrote to Jawaharlalji: '*Bahut varsh jiyo aur Hind ke Jawahar bane raho.*' ('May you live long and be the jewel of India').

Gandhiji wanted Jawaharlalji to be the Jewel of India and, in that simple blessing, declared him a Bharat Ratna years before that honour was officially conferred on him.

If his upbringing at Anand Bhawan in Allahabad gave Jawaharlal an anchorage in tradition, his exposure as a student in England to the bracing winds of Fabian socialism gave him a vision of the future. Having gone to England to do his Tripos at Cambridge and to study law, Jawaharlal found that his real interest was in political economy. He later joined the London School of Economics and was drawn to the Fabian socialist system of ideas. Marxist thought, as he has himself said, lighted many a corner of his mind. Writing to his son at about this time, Motilal Nehru said, 'Politics are inseparable from law, and economics are the soul of politics.'

Nehru saw, with clarity and conviction, the truth of his father's advice and Harold Laski's maxim that no man can understand law who lacks an intimate acquaintance with economics.

Back in India in 1912, he began to practise law. But quite understandably, this work failed to absorb him. The year 1917 had seen the Russian Revolution, and 1917 was also the year of the agitation for Home Rule, under the leadership of Dr Annie Besant. Expelled from Bombay and then from the Central Provinces, she was finally interned. Jawaharlal signed up as one of the Joint Secretaries of the Home Rule League in the United Provinces with Motilal Nehru as President. 'Home Rule has

come and we have but to take it if we stand up like men and falter not,' so wrote Nehru, in a letter to *The Leader*.

Still in his twenties, Jawaharlal had found a cause. What was required at that stage was for him to find the ideal medium.

The Non-Cooperation Movement of the Congress under Gandhiji's leadership seemed to him to contain an answer to some of the major challenges of the time. Jawaharlal Nehru accepted the non-violent method not so much as an all-time principle but as the only practicable method that was then available. Its practice also appeared to suit the national genius.

In 1927, he visited Moscow along with his father and was greeted by *Pravda* as a 'leader of the left wing of the Congress'.

In the Soviet Union he saw the sinews of industrial growth taking shape. It was on this visit that the concept of five-year plans, the famous *piatiletka* of the Russians, caught the imagination of Nehru. Apart from visiting the Soviet Union, Nehru also attended the International Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism in Brussels as a representative of the Indian National Congress. He there met some of the leading Leftists of the world like George Lansbury, Ellen Wilkinson, Fenner Brockway, and Harry Pollitt, besides a large number of delegates from China, Africa, Mexico and Latin America. India's political revolution, he knew, was taking its own shape in the extraordinary hands of Mahatma Gandhi. At the same time, more than any other political leader in India, Jawaharlal saw the need for an economic revolution in India. That revolution would have to redeem India from the backwardness of its agrarian structure and, in fact, from its dependence on agriculture itself. But it is important for us to remember that if Nehru became convinced that the solution to India's socio-economic problems lay in socialism, it was 'not in a vague humanitarian way, but in the scientific economic sense'.

As the newly-elected President of the Indian National Congress at the Lahore session of 1929, the Tarun-Tapasvi (youthful sage) gave a call for the new goal: *purna swaraj*, complete independence.

The people of India thereafter saw Gandhi and Nehru in roles of an almost pre-ordained mutuality. Campaign after campaign, event after event, witnessed their conjoint action: the Civil Disobedience and Salt Satyagraha of 1930, the Bihar earthquake of 1934, the provincial elections of 1937, the Individual Satyagraha of 1940, the Congress-League parleys and, finally, the Quit India movement of 1942. If to Gandhi India showed veneration, on Nehru it lavished affection. If one was 'Bapu' or father, the other was 'Bhai', brother. If one was the leader, the other was the comrade.

Even as the Gospel of the Buddha fulfilled itself in the works of Ashoka, even as the rapture of Sri Ramakrishna found articulation in the exertions of Swami Vivekananda, so did Mahatma Gandhi find a great complementarity in Jawaharlal Nehru.

Complementarity, of course, is not identicalness. Destiny did not intend Nehru to be a reflection, however accurate, of Gandhi. They were not Archetype and Replica.

Indeed, they would not have desired such mirroring. But there can be little doubt that in the constellation of which Mahatma Gandhi was the energy-radiating sun, Jawaharlal Nehru revolved closest to the central sphere. Moving in his own orbit, never abandoning his own judgement and reasoning, he recognized in the Mahatma the greatest Indian revolutionary of our times. An admirer but no acolyte, a fellow revolutionary but no blind follower, Nehru shared Gandhi's vision of India's future: free, self-reliant and purged of its archaic customs and obscurantist practices.

Nehru was self-admittedly uninterested in some of the Mahatma's spiritual quests. But he believed no less than his leader in the equal importance of ends and means. Nehru's adherence to non-violence, unlike Gandhi's, was not religious at its roots; his deeply cherished commitment to Fabian socialism raised issues which needed to be squared with the Gandhian ethic of trusteeship. And his faith in the need for industrial advance seemed out of step with Gandhi's stress on rural self sufficiency. Their perceptions of the movement's political priorities also, at times, differed. When, fresh from his visit to the Soviet Union and the Congress against Colonialism in Brussels, Nehru sponsored a resolution for complete British withdrawal at the Madras session of the Congress in 1928, Gandhi thought him impetuous and wrote to him:

I feel that you love me too well to resent what I am about to write. In my case I love you too well to restrain my pen when I feel I must write. You are going too fast. You should have taken time to think.... I do not know whether you still believe in unadulterated non-violence.

The differences persisted and Gandhi wrote to him again the same year, on 11 July:

The differences between you and me appear to me to be so vast and radical that there seems to be no meeting ground between us.

And yet no cleavage occurred. Nehru's openness and honesty appealed to Gandhi. As did his courage. 'He is pure as crystal', wrote Gandhi. Coming from one who was the very personification of purity, this is high praise. Gandhi was later, in a historic statement, to declare Jawaharlal Nehru his political heir, adding that when he was no longer there, Jawaharlal would speak his language. There is significance in Gandhi's choice of the word 'language'.

The events of the post-war months moved fast and before India could fully grasp the significance of each separate event, it stood on the threshold of partition. Gandhi termed it a 'vivisection', but could do nothing to prevent the inevitable. He did the next best thing that remained in his power to do: heal the wounds caused by the dismemberment. In Noakhali, in Bihar and then in Delhi he went to the afflicted people to console, comfort, assuage. And Jawaharlal Nehru did the same with equal passion. This was perhaps their greatest partnership. Gandhi and Nehru together ministered to a stricken nation. Their sheer humanity, which had been their strongest link, came now to the fore. After the starless night of violence when brother killed brother in the name of religion, came the dawn of freedom. A very embarrassed sun

rose over free India to see thousands of innocents martyred. The Mahatma himself became a victim of religious frenzy. The blood of him who had become one with the people of India now mingled with that of the dead of both denominations.

'The light has gone out of our lives,' said Jawaharlal Nehru, 'and there is darkness everywhere.' The words were balm to the nation.

As Prime Minister, Nehru exerted himself to realize the vision of a self-reliant India. He set up the Planning Commission under his chairmanship. Jawaharlal Nehru included in it—far-sightedly—not just politicians but scientists, economists, businessmen and industrialists. There were reservations and criticisms at that time. The words 'Socialism' and 'Planning' were anathema to many and to some even within the Congress Working Committee. But Nehru's scheme of planned development had been launched. It was at about this time that he wrote:

The argument about success or otherwise of the Five Year Plan is rather a pointless one. Everybody talks of 'planning' now, and of Five Year Plans. The Soviets have put magic into those words.

India, he realized, had to find its own way to socialism. It was, after all, on Indian soil that Gautama the Buddha had spoken of the Middle Path. And it was, again, India's great fortune to have had in Gandhiji another messiah in its midst, who had sought to balance rights and duties and show the equal importance of means and ends. Could democracy and socialism not blend? Democracy by itself, as a purely political creed, could not have served India. Socialism, as exemplified by its existing models, could not by itself have sufficed for India. But Nehru found Democratic Socialism to be eminently feasible, both as a goal and as a way. The great planner, statistician and economic philosopher, P. C. Mahalanobis, has in fact said: 'The Nehru approach to planning may perhaps be called the Middle Way or the Middle Path. Nehru was thus the author and architect of Democratic Socialism.'

Nehru explained the concept of democratic socialism in the following words:

In the past, democracy has been taken chiefly to mean political democracy, roughly represented by the idea of every person having a vote. It is obvious that a vote by itself does not mean very much to a person who is down and starving.... Therefore, political democracy by itself is not enough except that it may be used to obtain a gradually increasing measure of economic democracy.

When Nehru mooted the idea of a Planning Commission for India, he was not without critics. It is believed that Dr John Mathai, the then Finance Minister, resigned on the issue. Yet Nehru held on to his programme and convinced the country of the correctness of his decision. Nehru felt that socialism could not be introduced except through planning. In this a number of young Members of Parliament lent him fullest support. I look back with great pride on the fact that I was one of those Nehruites who supported his democracy.

But the great organization, namely the Indian National Congress, had not formally

adopted Socialism as its goal. It was only at the historic Avadi session of the Congress in 1955 that the Congress accepted the socialistic pattern of society as its creed. I was the general secretary of the reception committee of the Avadi Congress and I recall the thrill that we experienced when the resolution was adopted in that Congress session. Addressing the session, Nehru said:

Production is not all. A man works and produces something because he expects others to consume what he produces. If there is no consumption, he stops production. Therefore whether it is a factory or a cottage unit, consumption of what is produced should be taken care of. Mass production inevitably involves mass consumption, which in turn involves many other factors, chiefly the purchasing power of the consumer. Therefore planning must take note of the need to provide more purchasing power by way of wages, salaries and so on. Enough money should be thrown in to provide this purchasing power and to complete the circle of production and consumption. You will then produce more and consume more, and as a result your standard of living will go up.... I should like you to explain this to people when you go home to your respective towns and districts. We are responsible for giving effect to this resolution. We have to fulfil our promise.

It is significant that the decision that the Avadi session took synchronized with the launching of the Second Plan. Nehru had already oriented the country to the socialist path by enacting the Directive Principles of state policy at the inception of the Constitution. But it was from Avadi and the Second Plan onwards that a more vigorous utilization of our resources, a rapid industrialization and, most important, an equitable distribution of the resources of the community, became the country's declared charter and course.

The mixed economy and a welfare state emerged thereafter as a challenging concept. Legislation acquired a nation-building dimension and phrases such as 'the commanding heights of the economy' entered not just our political lexicon but, in fact, that of the entire developing world. The setting up of the Planning Commission, the emergence of the public sector, of land ceilings, of regulations on industrial monopoly, of state trading, are all facets of this same policy.

Great changes were taking place at the same time in the world of science and technology, which could not but affect the ways of living and thinking in India. Nehru was always interested in scientific research and in the progress of science and technology and it was at his initiative that a large number of national laboratories came into existence to do research in diverse fields. Massive investments were made in atomic energy and the exploration of our oil and mineral resources through the public sector.

Nehru always carried the nation with him in all his policies and programmes. He devised the technique of attaining a national consensus on national issues. He tried to obtain a broad-based agreement on basic principles and then proceeded to implement the agreed proposals. Nehru devised the institution of the National Development Council to secure both a national and an inter-regional consensus on programmes.

For those of us in state governments, participating in meetings of the National Development Council was an experience to look forward to. We were heard by the Prime Minister with attention and our averments were appreciated, irrespective of whether our specific proposals were accepted or not. This Council represented true federalism in action.

For Nehru, the exploitation of any one or any section by another was unacceptable. His concern for the women of India reflected this. From the National Movement had emerged a number of patriotic women who, in spite of the shackles that bound women by custom, inhibition and, often, by social obloquy, joined the struggle in their thousands. After Independence, Nehru used to insist on the inclusion of women in the state cabinets and in the legislatures. The Nehru era saw many women blossom into stalwarts.

Again, Nehru's concern for the religious minorities in India showed the same liberal attitude. A good socialist had to be a good democrat and a good democrat, necessarily, had to be secular. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Maulana Azad, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Sheikh Abdullah and Dr Zakir Husain were some of those for whom Nehru had always the highest regard and esteem. They represented, for Nehru, the truth that India has been and is intended to be a secular nation. Likewise, the concern Nehru showed for the tribal people demonstrates his approach to the needs of backward regions and of minority communities.

A tree, they say, is best measured when it is down. How right he was, how wise were his various emphases, became clear on 27 May 1964. Speaking shortly after Jawaharlalji had breathed his last, President Radhakrishnan said:

Our thoughts today go out to him as a great emancipator of the human race, as one who has given all his life and energy to the freeing of men's minds from political bondage, economic slavery, social oppression and cultural stagnation.

Democrat of democrats, socialist of socialists, Jawaharlal Nehru was a unique phenomenon.

A model Parliamentarian, he liked to carry with him the country, Parliament, and all reasonable points of view by painstakingly explaining, justifying and convincing the Opposition in Parliament and in the country. That he had an absolute majority in Parliament made no difference to him in his earnestness to meet the other point of view.

Inner party democracy was at its zenith during Nehru's era. The Congress legislative party would discuss all major issues in the presence of the leader. Whether it was the Hindu Code Bill or rationalization of textile mills or the Bank Award, the members were allowed not only to express their views but even modify Cabinet decisions. Nehru encouraged members freely to present views contrary to his own and then come down on the fallacies in their approach. Likewise he heard the Opposition with respect and accepted their criticism with dignified tolerance.

Simultaneously, Jawaharlal Nehru became a global personality. His devotion to nuclear disarmament and to the elimination of nuclear weapons, combined with his work for decolonization, for the Non-Aligned Movement and the ending of apartheid, won him a permanent place among the moulders of world destiny. The chronicler of world history finally became a shaper of world history.

As an English poet once said, 'To us he is no more a person now but a whole climate of opinion.' Jawaharlal Nehru was a climate of opinion—an opinion that was forward-looking, civilized, and full of hope, that brooked no injustice, no exploitation. He wished to sweep away the cobwebs of superstition and prejudice from our minds and wanted India to take its place among the nations of the world as a civilization that had illumined man's mind in the past and would do so in the future.

Time cannot erase the fragrant memory of a personality which was towering over the heads and shoulders of every one of his era and yet was human and kind to his less fortunate brethren. He was a colossus among men and yet was gentle and affable to those in the lowest rung of society. I have no doubt that he will continue to inspire generations ahead with his passion for social justice.

MYSTICAL BOND WITH PEOPLE

Shankar Dayal Sharma

Vice-President of India

AS WE CELEBRATE the birth anniversary of Jawaharlal Nehru, we re-experience a feeling of wonder about the phenomenon that was Nehru, his impact on history and the future of human progress, and the profound, almost mystical, bond that evolved between him and the people of India.

'Pure as crystal', Bapu had called him, identifying him also as the 'chosen instrument' of God. An aura of renunciation, radiant from long years of sacrifice for our country's freedom, glimmered around his personality, illumining all who came to him, softly but deeply influencing them, lifting them up to a higher and intensely engrossing plane of thought and action. That was Jawaharlalji's charm—an appeal at once subtle and profound, a form of irresistible magnetism which only the greatest of the great naturally exert.

India fascinated Nehru: equally, Nehru fascinated India. If the people adored Jawaharlalji, it is good to remember that their adulation arose from an implicit and total faith in him: as a person and as the leader of India; a faith redeemed day after day, year after year. The depth and magnitude of that faith were born not only from an appreciation of the brilliance of his versatile mind, or his breathtakingly personable appearance; the people regarded him as the chosen one on the strength of deep perceptions and convictions. They knew within themselves that in Jawaharlal Nehru they had an individual with an invincible congruence of moral values, supreme courage, compassion, and devotion, and that this powerful compound of qualities surcharged his enormous practical abilities and made them meaningful for the public good.

For thousands of years, the history of Indian leadership has had but few who had this most essential endowment for the higher guidance of human affairs. In Jawaharlal Nehru, the people of India recognized these indispensable attributes. He became to them a God-given leader. Typically and naturally, in our Indian ethos, many millions sincerely believed he was a great soul from India's glorious past, returned in another bodily form for the emancipation of India and humanity. In that unique relationship between Jawaharlal Nehru and the people of India, there was, and continues to be even now, the dynamic force of mystical commitment to each other. A mutuality of awareness of the central importance of ethical and moral values was at the heart of this relationship.

In modern assessments of Nehru, this basic element is often overlooked. But Panditji often reminded the world, the nation and the party about it. In a note which originally appeared in the 15 August 1958 issue of the *A.I.C.C. Economic Review*, under the title 'The Basic Approach', Panditji had examined and evaluated a complex range of issues which were the most pressing concerns of human progress: science and technology, the relative strength of different political systems and ideologies, the problem of violence, the position of the individual and of social obligation, poverty and the welfare state, our approach towards a planned economy and our short- and long-term objectives. It is a document that all students and practitioners of political science and administration would benefit by reading. In a key sentence therein, Jawaharlalji opened the full perspective within which all these issues were to be regarded. He said: 'We must not forget the ethical and spiritual aspects of life which are ultimately the basis of culture and civilization and have given some meaning to life.'

At the plenary session of the Indian National Congress that Panditji attended in Bhubaneswar in 1964, a resolution was adopted pertaining to economic development, the public, private and co-operative sectors, industry, agriculture, pricing control, scientific and technological development, and other related matters. Panditji himself drafted and insisted on the inclusion of a paragraph, without which he said the whole thing would have no meaning for him. This was:

Mere material prosperity alone will not make human life rich and meaningful. Therefore along with economic development ethical and spiritual values will have to be fostered. This alone will lead to the full development of human resources and character. It is only on this basis that the present-day acquisitive structure can be gradually changed into a society which is socialist and yet provides adequate incentive for the full development of the individual and the community. This is the vision of a society which the Indian National Congress envisages, wherein poverty, disease and ignorance shall be eliminated, wherein property and privilege in any form occupy a strictly limited place, wherein all citizens have equal opportunities and wherein ethical and spiritual values contribute to the enrichment of the individual and the community life.

Prophetically, Bapu had said of Panditji, 'When I am gone, he will speak my language,' and, 'When I am no more, he will know how to carry on the work.'

Jawaharlalji became President of the Indian National Congress at the age of forty. In that memorable session in Lahore in 1929, the Congress declared Independence as India's political goal. Jawaharlalji's presidential address was of astonishing clarity and sweep, grappling with the major issues affecting nations, postulating solutions—not hesitatingly or tentatively, but with the confidence of one who has vast knowledge and has thought deeply, using the sublime luminosity of high ideals as a guiding light. That address provides a virtual blueprint of the policies which the nascent independent government in India adopted. The secret lay in the early crystallization of ideas and strategic concepts achieved by Jawaharlalji as far back as the Lahore

session. Seed-thoughts of growth and evolution in the economic, social and political fields were conceptualized and expressed by him. Subsequently, as Prime Minister, these *beej mantr* (core concepts) were developed by him into policies for state and social action. The federal structure of our polity, the system of parliamentary democracy, the legislative, judicial and executive division of state functions, the professional, apolitical nature of the civil services and armed forces, the introduction of a planned economy with the public sector having an infrastructural role, the significance of science and technology and atomic energy, the reformation of the agrarian structure, the creation of major irrigation and power systems, the emphasis on involving and developing the youth of the country, the creation of a scientific temper, the strengthening of the cultural traditions and a social ethos in the nation—all these diverse and yet closely related aspects of national life received positive and creative impulses from Panditji. It was he, mainly, who amalgamated and galvanized in India democracy, socialism, secularism and nationalism. He provided the ideological composite for national reconstruction.

Around the world the people watched India and Nehru from their own stand-points—with admiration, envy, or alarm. From Panditji's ethical convictions, his spirit of humanism and yearning for the well-being of all humankind, flowed India's foreign policy. Under his leadership, all members of the Constituent Assembly, in the very moment of our attaining Independence, pledged themselves to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind. The experience of imperialist oppression had remarkably left no residual rancour in the Indian mind against any country. India, with Panditji at the helm, looked upon all the peoples of the world with the eyes of a friend, materializing the Yajurvedic injunction: *mitrasya chakshusha sameekshamahe*. Countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia, shackled under colonialism and plagued by apartheid, received sustenance and the energy for liberation from him. The historic global process of decolonization was pushed forward by him. The world's quest for disarmament, peace and international co-operation—the humanist way of life—was advanced by his thought and his passionate advocacy. The origins of many of the positive and elevating trends in human progress we see today can be traced to Panditji's mind.

Such was Jawaharlal Nehru—one whom India is fortunate and proud to claim as her own, and to have him merged and absorbed in her ethos. Many centuries of India lived in him and undoubtedly he has influenced the future not only of India but of many other countries.

As the *Hitopadesa* has said:

नाभिषेको न संस्कारः सिंहस्य क्रियते मृगैः ।
विक्रमार्जितराजस्य स्वयमेव मृगेन्द्रता ॥

Those truly worthy of the highest esteem require no coronation. Their own exceptional deeds anoint them with primacy in human affairs.

LASTING RELEVANCE

Rajiv Gandhi

Prime Minister of India

TIME HAS NOT DIMINISHED the significance of Jawaharlal Nehru's life and work. Years have not dimmed the fond memories which the people of this country, indeed, people the world over, have of him. His message continues to guide and inspire us and, for the world, light the path to sustained peace and sustainable development. Jawaharlal Nehru's thought and life-work were informed by a profound idealism. It was an idealism rooted in a deep understanding of history, compassion and an understanding of men and matters, an insistence on relating perception to present reality.

• Like his great mentor, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru saw the moral imperative as a practical necessity. Far from divorcing value systems from the stratagems and tactics of politics, he returned repeatedly to the theme that right means alone can ensure right ends and wrong means are bound to vitiate even the most noble objectives. Nehru's life was a historical saga of successes. He assisted in bringing to a close the entire epoch of human history summed up in the word 'colonialism'. He was the architect-builder of modern India. His vision of world peace remains, a quarter century after his death, the only possible vision capable of realization. Yet, all these successes were made possible only because he refused to sacrifice principle to expediency, ideology to pragmatism, the honourable to the opportunistic.*

A strong underpinning of history characterizes the work of Jawaharlal Nehru. It is this which relates his work very closely to the needs of the present and the requirements of the future. This has also imparted to it an enduring quality. Though not a historian by formal training he had a strong sense of history. Time and again he went back to history to understand the present better:

The roots of the present lay in the past and so I made voyages of discovery into the past, ever seeking a clue in it, if any such existed, to the understanding of the present.

Jawaharlal Nehru's understanding of India and her history helped him to appreciate the special characteristics of Indian civilization which made it different from others and gave India her strength. These characteristics, he felt, were India's fundamental unity in diversity, and the capacity to absorb, assimilate and synthesize different influences. Nehru was of the view that the India of tomorrow would draw its basic strength from these features. This would help to exclude tendencies towards parochialism and sectarianism. Jawaharlal Nehru realized that the institutions which

our people would build, and the ideals upon which they would rest, would also be deeply influenced by these characteristics. The ideals of democracy, secularism and socialism, which are a part of our polity, and have, over the years, become a part of our way of life, have been deeply conditioned by the special features which characterize Indian civilization. They have been moulded and fashioned by the genius of the Indian people and have become one with it.

In Jawaharlal Nehru's view, democracy, secularism and socialism were closely linked together. Each drew upon and gave strength to the other. Together they would make for a strong India, based on the dignity of the individual and the full flowering of the human personality, an India which would see an improvement in the quality of life of the poor and the downtrodden. Talking of democracy and socialism, Nehru said:

We have definitely accepted the democratic process. Why have we accepted it?... Because we think that in the final analysis it promotes the growth of human beings and of society.... Because we want the creative and adventurous spirit of man to grow.... We do want high standards of living, but not at the cost of man's creative spirit, his creative energy, his spirit of adventure.... The question before us is how to combine democracy with socialism....

Again:

Democracy and socialism are means to an end, not the end itself. We talk of the good of society. Is this something apart from and transcending the good of the individuals composing it? If the individual is ignored and sacrificed for what is considered the good of society, is that the right objective to have? The touchstone, therefore, should be how far any political or social theory enables the individual to rise above his petty self and thus think in terms of the good of all.

Jawaharlal Nehru set India on the path of democracy. His caring hand nurtured its institutions—Parliament, a multi-party system, an independent judiciary, and a free Press. While influenced by the democratic thought of the West, Jawaharlal Nehru's concept of democracy went back into the history of India, to the idea of the village community. The formative years of Indian nationhood, which saw the blossoming of our Parliamentary institutions, also saw the growth of Panchayati Raj institutions. The seeds of Panchayati Raj had been long present in our soil but it required the caring hand of Nehru to help them to sprout. Under his stewardship, the concept of Panchayati Raj began to take definite form. He called Panchayats 'the real base of our democracy', saying:

Real democracy cannot exist at the top, it can only arise from the base; and in India this is not something alien but something natural to the soil. The fact remains that the Panchayats are the primary base of our democracy and we have to improve them.

Deeply conscious of the poverty of India, Jawaharlal Nehru was of the view that if democracy were to be sustained and grow, it would have to be meaningful to the

masses. The picture of the poverty of India, and of the degradation and misery that poverty brought in its wake, had a deep and lasting effect on Nehru. Even during the Freedom Struggle he made it clear that while independence was important in itself, its fundamental importance lay in the fact that it would open the way for much needed social and economic change. His was an unequivocal commitment to lifting India and her millions out of poverty:

The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity.... As long as there are tears and suffering so long our work will not be over.

Jawaharlal Nehru stressed time and again the symbiotic relationship which existed between political and economic democracy. The eradication of poverty would itself create conditions for enhancing the dignity of the individual, the basic concern of democracy. Planning and planned development were fashioned by Nehru as the instrument for translating independence for the nation and political democracy into freedom for the individual and economic democracy.

Deeply appreciative of the unique ability to synthesize diversity which has characterized Indian civilization, Jawaharlal Nehru derived the political parameters of contemporary secularism from the traditions of tolerance and synthesis which constituted the essential parameters of the idea of India, an idea which went back deep into our civilization, which was responsible for the continuity of our civilization, and which, over millennia, had enabled our civilization to survive every kind of vicissitude—military, political, or economic. He wrote:

We talk about a secular India. It is perhaps not very easy even to find a good word in Hindi for 'secular'. Some people think that it means something opposed to religion. That obviously is not correct. What it means is that it is a State which honours all faiths equally and gives them equal opportunities; that, as a State, it does not allow itself to be attached to one faith or religion, which then becomes the State religion.... India has a long history of religious tolerance. That is one aspect of a secular State, but it is not the whole of it. In a country like India, which has many faiths and religions, no real nationalism can be built up except on the basis of secularity. Any narrower approach must necessarily exclude a section of the population, and then nationalism itself will have a much more restricted meaning than it should possess.

If Jawaharlal Nehru's message is of lasting relevance to India, it is of ineluctable significance to the very existence of humanity. Confronted with a nuclear arsenal capable of destroying our planet many times over, we are perilously close to self-destruction. The concept of Panchsheel, the five principles of peaceful coexistence, was espoused by Nehru at a time when the rivalries of the Cold War were driving humanity inexorably to its doom. It was Nehru who insisted if the world was to exist at all, it must exist as one. He said:

War begins in the minds of men. That is essentially true; and ultimately it is necessary to bring about the change in our minds and to remove fears and apprehensions, hatreds and

suspensions. Disarmament is a part of this process, for it will create an atmosphere of co-operation.... Apart from the moral imperative of peace, every practical consideration leads us to that conclusion. For, as everyone knows, the choice today in this nuclear age is one of utter annihilation and destruction of civilization or of some way to have peaceful coexistence between nations. There is no middle way. If war is an abomination and an ultimate crime which has to be avoided, we must fashion our minds and policies accordingly.

When Nehru said this, there were many who had reservations. Today, after the Delhi Declaration and the I.N.F. Treaty, there are few who would disagree.

The way shown by Jawaharlal Nehru continues to be our way. Democracy, secularism, and non-alignment constitute the pillars of our nationhood. We shall continue the work of building the India of Nehru's dreams—a contemporary India which is worthy of our ancient idea of India, a strong India, an India based on democracy and the infinite worth of every individual, an India where the benefits of development flow to all, an India which acts as a beacon-light to a storm-tossed world.

AN INTEGRATED HUMAN BEING

Indira Gandhi

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolized some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a façade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.*

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilization, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in gaol were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realized that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation, and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognized that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe, and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister.... He was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

From the Foreword to the
Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru
written in 1972

CONTENTS

R. Venkataraman, President of India	A SHAPER OF HISTORY	v
Shankar Dayal Sharma, Vice-President of India	MYSTICAL BOND WITH PEOPLE	xii
Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India	LASTING RELEVANCE	xv
Indira Gandhi	AN INTEGRATED HUMAN BEING	xix
The Editors	INTRODUCTION	xxviii

Part I. *Tributes*

Tunku Abdul Rahman	A HERO FOR MALAYSIA	3
Mulk Raj Anand	SELF-ACTUALIZATION IN THE WRITINGS OF NEHRU	6
✓ A. Appadorai	THE ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE AND OTHER REMINISCENCES	13
Yasser Arafat	FRIEND OF THE ARAB NATION AND THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE	18
Aruna Asaf Ali	MY DISCOVERY OF JAWAHARLAL	20
Richard Attenborough	MEMORIES OF THE MAKING OF 'GANDHI'	29
Baldev Singh	NEHRU AND INDIAN SCIENCE SINCE INDEPENDENCE	33
Anu Bandyopadhyaya	EVER HUMAN	43
Jyoti Basu	AN INSPIRING LEADER OF THE MASSES ✓	47
M. H. Beg	THE BUILDER OF MODERN INDIA	51
Shyam Benegal	ONE I NEVER MET	54
Bharat Ram	A MAN OF HARMONY AND CONTRASTS	57
Benazir Bhutto	MAJOR FIGURE ON THE WORLD STAGE	64
Bipan Chandra	NEHRU AND COMMUNALISM	65
Ruskin Bond	THE MAN WHO LOVED CHILDREN	86
Boutros Boutros Ghali	A MAN OF IDEAS AND ACTION	89
Willy Brandt	AN ENLIGHTENED WORLD LEADER	99

Michael Brecher	NEHRU AND THE THIRD WORLD	100
George Bush	NEHRU IN AMERICA	103
James Callaghan	A BRITON REMEMBERS	105
Nikhil Chakravartty	NEHRU, PRESS AND PARLIAMENT	110
Sukhamoy Chakravarty	THE NEHRU LEGACY IN PLANNING	116
S. Chandrasekhar	IN MEMORIAM	122
Harindranath Chattopadhyaya	MORTAL YET IMMORTAL	124
Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya	THE SHAPER OF NEW INDIA'S OUTLOOK	125
Norman Cousins	MAN AND SYMBOL, A FRAGMENTARY APPRECIATION	129
A. K. Damodaran	INFLUENCING EACH OTHER	140
Amaury de Riencourt	NEHRU IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE	147
P. N. Dhar	NEHRU VERSUS NEHRUITES	151
Dharma Vira	WORKING WITH PANDITJI	156
Uma Shankar Dikshit	THE FOUNDER OF MODERN INDIA	171
R. R. Diwakar	LINGUISTIC STATES	175
Raif Dizdarevic	AN EMBODIMENT OF REASON AND COURAGE	180
Kartar Singh Duggal	GROWING UP IN THE NEHRU ERA	182
G. C. Dutt	TAKING CARE OF NEHRU'S SECURITY	188
R. C. Dutt	THE PUBLIC SECTOR	192
Subimal Dutt	A PERSONAL ACCOUNT	198
Surendranath Dwivedy	A DEDICATED PARLIAMENTARIAN	206
Asghar Ali Engineer	SECULARISM AND NATION-BUILDING	212
Michael Foot	THE NEHRU OF 1938	223
John Kenneth Galbraith	A MAN OF TWO WORLDS	232
E. V. Ganapathi Iyer	NEHRU AND THE PROGRESS OF SCIENCE IN INDIA	236
Gopal Singh	THE IDEAL DEMOCRAT	238
Mikhail S. Gorbachev	GREAT SON OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE	244
Paulos Mar Gregorios	NEHRU AND RELIGION	247
John Grigg	THE GENIUS OF NEHRU	251

R. N. Gurtu	A CELEBRATION	257
S. Nurul Hasan	THE SCIENTIFIC TEMPER	258
Edward Heath	A MAN OF SHINING INTEGRITY	263
K. K. Hebbar	AN ARTIST'S IMPRESSION	264
Pamela Mountbatten Hicks	THE PERSONAL TOUCH	267
Edmund Hillary	AN ENCOUNTER WITH THE PRESS	269
✓ Lord Home of the Hirsel	NEHRU AND THE COMMONWEALTH	270
Kamal Hossain	VISION OF A NEW SOCIETY	271
Iqbal Singh	NEHRU'S WESTERN ODYSSEYS	274
Ali Sardar Jafri	SOME EARLY MEMORIES	284
✓ Cheddi Jagan	LEADER OF THE AFRO-ASIAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM	288
J. R. Jayewardene	TREASURED MEMORIES	298
R. N. Kao	VIGNETTES OF NEHRU	300
Karan Singh	A MEMOIR	306
✓ R. K. Karanjia	PRIME MINISTER OF TOMORROW	311
Subhash C. Kashyap	NEHRU AND THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION	318
P. N. Katju	A FOND REMEMBRANCE	324
✓ T. N. Kaul	NEHRU'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE	326
Kenneth D. Kaunda	AN INSPIRATION TO ALL	330
Mazhar Ali Khan	JAWAHARLAL REMEMBERED	333
Coretta Scott King	A LIVING FORCE	337
Miloslav Krása	AN ABIDING INFLUENCE	338
Bruno Kreisky	A LIFE OF VISION AND ACHIEVEMENT	342
V. R. Krishna Iyer	NEHRU AND INDIA: A CRITIQUE	346
Manfred Lachs	TWO MEETINGS WITH JAWAHARLAL NEHRU	352
✓ Lee Kuan Yew	FIRST OF THE AFRO-ASIANS	356
Lata Mangeshkar	WE DREAMT WITH HIM	358
Federico Mayor	AN INDELIBLE IMPACT	359
M. G. K. Menon and Manju Sharma	NEHRU AND SCIENCE	361

Yehudi Menuhin	IF GOOD MEN DO NOTHING	369
Monique and Charles Morazé	NEHRU'S UNIVERSAL SIGNIFICANCE	371
Hiren Mukerjee	SOME REFLECTIONS	377
Amrit Lal Nagar	REMEMBERING NEHRU	382
✓ Nagendra Singh	HIS IDEALISM AND REALISM	387
E. M. S. Namboodiripad	THREE PHASES OF THE NEHRU ERA	394
B. R. Nanda	PLAYING FOR HIGH STAKES	399
C. D. Narasimhaiah	A RARE LITERARY SENSIBILITY	406
✓ C. V. Narasimhan	NEHRU AND THE UNITED NATIONS	417
V. K. Narayana Menon	IMPACT ON THE ARTS	420
K. Natwar-Singh	A MAN OF LETTERS	430
B. K. Nehru	THIS WAS A MAN	436
Dorothy Norman	THE NEHRU I KNEW	443
B. N. Pande	SOME REMINISCENCES	460
Apa B. Pant	A BODHISATTVA	467
Achyut Patwardhan	NEHRU'S LEGACY	471
✓ Javier Pérez de Cuellar	VISION OF WORLD PEACE	475
Pham Van Dong	PRIDE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE	477
Christian Pineau	SYMBOL OF HUMANISM	483
Mir Qasim	A PERCEPTIVE LEADER	484
Raja Rao	WHEN MALRAUX MET JAWAHARLAL NEHRU	486
C. Rajeswara Rao	NEHRU'S PROPAGATION OF SOCIALISM AND NON-ALIGNMENT	496
G. Ramachandran	A QUESTION AND THE ANSWER	499
N. G. Ranga	NEHRU'S AGRICULTURAL POLICIES	502
V. K. R. V. Rao	NEHRU'S ECONOMIC VISION	506
Renuka Ray	REMEMBERING JAWAHARLAL NEHRU	514
E. S. Reddy	NEHRU AND AFRICA	520
B. K. Roy Burman	NEHRU AND THE TRIBALS	527

K. F. Rustamji	LAW AND ORDER IN FREE INDIA	531
Sadiq Ali	THE EVOLUTION OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU	537
Shanti Sadiq Ali	NEHRU'S AFRICA POLICY	542
Vishnu Sahay	NEHRU'S IMPACT ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	550
✓ Salim Ahmed Salim	THE CONCEPT AND PRACTICE OF NON-ALIGNMENT	558
Mrinalini Sarabhai	IN REMEMBRANCE	566
Mohit Sen	NEHRU AND SOCIALISM	568
Leopold Sedar Senghor	THE HUMANISM OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU	576
Mahmooda Ali Shah	NEHRU AND KASHMIR	578
Norodom Sihanouk	VENERATED THE WORLD OVER	582
Balmiki Prasad Singh	NEHRU'S TRIBAL PHILOSOPHY	584
Soli J. Sorabjee	NEHRU AND THE COURTS	592
K. Subrahmanyam	DEFENCE AND DEVELOPMENT—THE NEHRUVIAN EQUATION	597
C. Subramaniam	HUMANIST AND DEMOCRAT	604
G. S. Talwalkar	AN INTELLECTUAL	610
Tarlok Singh	NEHRU AND PLANNING	616
Margaret Thatcher	NEHRU'S RELEVANCE FOR OUR TIME	624
Jan Tinbergen	NEHRU AS SEEN BY AN ECONOMIST	627
Badr-ud-din Tyabji	THE INNER CORE	631
Atal Bihari Vajpayee	A SENSITIVE ROLE	638
Anton Vratsa	THREE STATESMEN ON THE BRIONI ISLANDS	641
Jigme Singye Wangchuk	JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND BHUTAN	647
Mohammad Yunus	MY MEMORIES OF JAWAHARLALJI	649
Fidel Castro Ruz	FRIEND OF CUBA	661

Part II. *Reflections and Recollections*

Mahatma Gandhi	YOUTH ON TRIAL	667
Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah	POET, THINKER, AND MAN OF ACTION	669

Clement Attlee	NEHRU IN RETROSPECT	672
S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike	UTTERLY DEPENDABLE	674
Homi Bhabha	DEEP FAITH IN SCIENCE	675
Vinoba Bhave	MAN WITHOUT HATRED OR PREJUDICE	677
Fenner Brockway	GANDHIJI AND NEHRU	678
Winston Churchill	ABSENCE OF BITTERNESS	680
Éamon de Valera	THE IDEAL ITSELF	680
Ilya Ehrenburg	PRINCIPLES AND CONSCIENCE	681
Albert Einstein	SCIENTISTS LOOK UP TO NEHRU	683
Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan	A PRACTISING GANDHIAN	683
Zakir Husain	A GREAT EDUCATOR OF OUR AGE	684
Jagjivan Ram	DREAMS FOR HUMANKIND	685
Jayaprakash Narayan	CAPTAIN OF THE SHIP	686
K. Kamaraj	NOBILITY THAT SPURNED PETTINESS	687
John F. Kennedy	WORLD-WIDE REPUTATION	689
Martin Luther King, Jr	THE WILL TO PEACE	690
Lal Bahadur Shastri	DAUNTLESS SPIRIT	692
Harold J. Laski	REMARKABLE RECORD	692
Earl Mountbatten of Burma	A MOST MAGNANIMOUS MAN	693
Gilbert Murray	HISTORIC FIGURE OF A STORMY AGE	694
Sarojini Naidu	INCORRUPTIBLE SINCERITY	695
Gulzari Lal Nanda	THE TORCH OF FREEDOM	696
Gamal Abdel Nasser	WHERE TWO WORLDS MEET	697
Kwame Nkrumah	DEFENDER OF THE DIGNITY OF MAN	700
Govind Ballabh Pant	LIVING IMAGE OF ENERGY	701
Vallabhbhai Patel	LEADER OF OUR LEGIONS	703
S. Radhakrishnan	A GREAT EMANCIPATOR	705
C. Rajagopalachari	MOST CIVILIZED PERSON	707
Rajendra Prasad	HIS SPIRITUAL STRAIN	708

B. C. Roy	AT HOME EVERYWHERE	710
Bertrand Russell	CONTRIBUTION TO NEW HUMANITY	712
Adlai E. Stevenson	KING WITH THE COMMON TOUCH	714
✓ Rabindranath Tagore	ON READING 'AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY'	715
U Thant	AN UNDERSTANDING OF HISTORY	716
Josip Broz Tito	A FIGHTER FOR PEACE	717
Arnold Toynbee	A REDEEMER OF POLITICS	719
CHRONOLOGY		721
THE CONTRIBUTORS		727
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		736

List of Illustrations

Jawaharlal Nehru Painting by Finagenov <i>Rashtrapati Bhawan</i>	<i>frontispiece</i>
Jawaharlal Nehru seated at his desk Painting by Edward Halliday <i>Parliament House</i>	<i>facing p. 128</i>
Jawaharlal Nehru Painting by Elizabeth Brunner <i>Parliament House</i>	<i>facing p. 256</i>
Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi Painting by Chaganlal <i>Rashtrapati Bhawan</i>	<i>facing p. 336</i>
Note from Mahatma Gandhi to Jawaharlal Nehru, dated 18 January 1948	<i>p. 668</i>

INTRODUCTION

The Editors

IT IS CUSTOMARY TO commemorate the birth centenaries of distinguished personalities. Yet to pay tribute to Jawaharlal Nehru on such an occasion is no mere ritual. For Nehru was cast in a truly epic mould. He dominated the political stage of India and featured prominently in world politics for nearly four decades. Over and above his role in national and in international politics, Nehru also reflected upon the human condition with scholarly depth and poetic sensitivity. His reflections deeply influenced the policies which he adopted towards the crucial issues of poverty and progress, and war and peace in his times. Some of his prescriptions have an enduring relevance which it would be timely to recapitulate, as humanity moves toward a new century which also marks the commencement of new millennium.

Freedom was Nehru's ruling passion. He fought for it, spent ten years of his life in prison for it, and, in the end, was one of those chiefly responsible for winning it for his nation. He became, for much of the colonial world, a symbol figure of liberation. However, as the first chosen Prime Minister of the world's second most populous nation, he described himself as the first servant of his people. He knew that India's tryst with destiny meant the sovereignty of the people and the acceptance of the primacy of equality. The Constitution of India, of which he was the principal architect, was inevitably a charter of political, economic and social equality. His vast knowledge of the thrust of history had convinced him that liberty would be real only if the relationship in the forces of production was non-exploitative, and when poverty was eliminated with the help of the new wealth that modern scientific knowledge could create. So Jawaharlal Nehru was a socialist and a champion of science and developmental planning.

Nehru has also been acclaimed as one of the first citizens of the emerging One World. He championed non-alignment for nations which had freed themselves from imperial rule. He wanted the established powers to recognize that, with the advent of nuclear weapons, reconciliation and not confrontation was the only path for mankind's survival. He strove to place politics among nations on a new, positive basis—that of non-violence. It was the message of non-violence that had attracted him to Mahatma Gandhi whom he adopted as his Master. And it was Jawaharlal's own spiritual quality (in a self-confessed agnostic) that made Gandhi say of him, 'After I am gone, he will speak my language.' But this heir of Gandhi refused to don a spiritual mantle and play the ascetic. He celebrated the joy of life. He danced and

sang with tribal folk. He allowed children to clamber up his shoulders. That is why Rabindranath Tagore called him 'Ritu Raj', the King of Spring.

His energy was not just physical. He had a capacious and creative intellect, which expressed itself in all he did and in three great books that he wrote in prison, a history of the world, a history of himself, and a history of the Indian civilization. Authors, scientists, and artists, all claimed him as one of themselves. But even more did the common people do so. No one person in the world has probably directly seen and been seen by a larger number of fellow human-beings. With all this, he had the humour and the humility to say, in a speech in the United Nations, when he was introduced as a man of wisdom, 'I am only a person who has dabbled in public affairs for nearly half a century and learned something from them. And what I have learned is how wise men often behave in a foolish manner. I question myself: "Am I right?"'

To evaluate Nehru's place in history, and to assess the relevance of his thought to the challenges of today, it is necessary to ask certain questions about his life and his world-view. What was the milieu into which Nehru was born? How was he drawn into the struggle for the liberation of India? What were the ideas he generated in the course of this struggle? How did he seek to restructure society, politics, and the economy within India? What was his contribution to world politics during the middle decades of our century? How relevant are his ideas to the problems which beset humanity today? An endeavour to find answers to these questions can help us to determine Jawaharlal Nehru's place in the history of India no less than in world history in the twentieth century.

The social background from which Jawaharlal was drawn is too well known to be recapitulated here. However, it is pertinent to dwell upon the cultural influences which impinged upon him during his childhood and youth, more particularly because of the manner in which these influences shaped his world-view later. The Nehrus had originally migrated from Kashmir to Delhi in the eighteenth century, at a time when Delhi was the capital of the Mughal Empire. A century and a half later, the family moved to Allahabad, where Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal's father, soon established himself as a leading lawyer. The social milieu within Anand Bhawan, the residence of the Nehrus at Allahabad, which was located near the Sangam, the junction of the sacred rivers Ganga and Yamuna, represented in microcosm the diverse and varied cultural streams which went into the making of modern India. The Sangam symbolized the classical tradition of Hindu civilization, and it had shaped the material and spiritual life of the people across the centuries. For Jawaharlal, as a young child, this tradition was vividly evoked through the 'stories from the old Hindu mythology, from the epics ... that my mother and aunt used to tell us. My aunt ... was learned in the old Indian books and had an inexhaustible supply of these tales, and my knowledge of Indian mythology and folklore became quite considerable.'

The Nehrus were also deeply influenced by Islam, as a result of their close interaction with the Muslim élite and professional classes of north India. Motilal was

fluent in both Persian and Urdu and he was a connoisseur of the poetry created in these languages. He also counted a large number of Muslims among his close friends. Jawaharlal was taught Urdu as a child, and he acquired a sensitive appreciation of the place of Islamic culture in the composite heritage of India. Besides the influence of Islam, the social milieu within Anand Bhawan was also enriched through the adoption of a Western life-style by Motilal. Indeed, this influence was reflected as much in the physical setting of Anand Bhawan as it was reflected in the intellectual horizons of its inmates. The education given to Jawaharlal, for instance, was no different from that imparted to young men drawn from the upper classes of Great Britain during this period. After an initial bout of tutoring at home by a young Englishman, he studied at the public school of Harrow; whence he went to Cambridge and London, where he received instruction in the sciences and in law.

During the childhood of Jawaharlal Nehru, in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, British rule over India, as it was shaped by imperious pro-consuls, seemed to possess a durability which suggested that the British Empire would endure for centuries without encountering any effective challenge. However, already within the womb of the Empire, there were stirrings which hinted at the possibility of a national resurgence within Indian society in the not too distant future. Partly through the introduction of Western ideas in the institutions of learning created under the British aegis, the middle classes were drawn into the vortex of nationalism and organized themselves, in 1885, into a party—the Indian National Congress—which can be described as a ‘Parliament of Indian Nationalism’. No less significant than the nationalist awakening of the educated classes were the deep rumblings among the poor and the deprived in the land: among peasants, workers, artisans and members of tribal communities. These rumblings were barely audible before the First World War; although the anger of the dispossessed repeatedly erupted into anti-imperialist movements of great potential significance in the nineteenth century.

Although Jawaharlal Nehru lived a life of privilege as the only son of the brilliant lawyer, Motilal Nehru, he was fully sensitive to the winds of change that were blowing through India, and looked forward to the prospect of the liberation of his country. Even while Nehru was studying in Great Britain, his letters to his father were full of political happenings in India and elsewhere, and provide clear evidence of his profound commitment to the nationalist cause. Motilal was a moderate nationalist and strove for the gradual transfer of political power into the hands of the people of India. However, Jawaharlal was reluctant to accept the prescription held out by Motilal; and the correspondence between the father and the son, at this juncture, is characterized by differing assessments of British motives and the desirable pace at which India could be liberated from British rule.

Jawaharlal represented, in the second decade of the twentieth century, the sentiments of a youthful generation of the intelligentsia which was searching for a new ideological weapon for waging the struggle against British imperialism. Small wonder,

then, that when Mahatma Gandhi proposed a revolutionary method of conducting the struggle against British imperialism—the method of satyagraha or soul-force—Jawaharlal was captivated by the novelty no less than by the daring of the Mahatma's prescription. In describing in his *Autobiography* his reaction to the Mahatma's call, Nehru observed: 'When I first read about... Gandhi's proposals in the newspapers, my reaction was one of tremendous relief. Here at last was a way out of the tangle, a method of action which was straight and open and possibly effective.'²

Jawaharlal's participation in the National Movement during the years 1920–2 greatly widened his social horizons at the same time as it sharpened his political consciousness. As already hinted, his youthful radicalism was, to start with, unable to find an appropriate channel of expression. However, Nehru's involvement in the non-violent agitation led by Mahatma Gandhi against the British Government during 1920–2 opened up a new world before him. He discovered the impoverished peasants who constituted the core of Indian society; and whose indomitable spirit defied the crushing economic burden which an oppressive imperial regime imposed upon them. Nehru has left a graphic account of the India which his sojourn in the rural areas during these years opened up before him: 'I went [to the rural districts near Allahabad] with some colleagues and we spent three days in the villages far from the railways and even the *pucca* road,' he observed. 'The visit was a revelation to me. We found the whole countryside afire with enthusiasm and full of strange excitement.... [The] people would come streaming out or even running as fast as they could. They were in miserable rags, men and women, but their faces were full of excitement and their eyes glistened and seemed to expect strange happenings which would, as if by a miracle, put an end to their long misery.... [A] new picture of India seemed to arise before me.'³

Although Jawaharlal Nehru was initially drawn into satyagraha under the aegis of the great Mahatma, he soon acquired an understanding of political and social problems which in some respects went beyond the views of his mentor. This understanding was drawn from Nehru's explorations in socialist theory; though it is important to remember that these explorations were firmly anchored to a wider liberal humanism; and to an equally profound philosophical tradition drawn from the cultural heritage of India. Jawaharlal's ideological growth was also stimulated by his participation in an international Congress of Oppressed Nationalities held at Brussels in 1927. At this Congress, nationalist leaders from various countries in Africa and Asia assembled to discuss the future of contemporary struggles for liberation. Nehru's stay in Brussels was followed by a visit to the Soviet Union. There he had a first-hand glimpse of the reconstruction of a major society on the basis of socialism.

What was Nehru's world-view, at this juncture, as he grew to be the unquestioned leader of the younger generation of nationalists within India? In the first instance, he looked upon the question of freedom as a question related as much to social and economic as to political issues. He further believed that the epic conflict between

nationalism and imperialism, in the first half of the twentieth century, could only be resolved through socialism; just as socialism could also help resolve the internal problems which beset the colonies of Asia and Africa, in particular the problems of the toiling millions within these countries. 'I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a Republican and no believer in kings and princes or in the order which produced the modern kings of industries,' Nehru observed. 'India means the peasantry and labour. And to the extent that we raise them and satisfy their wants will we succeed in our task.... The measure of the strength of our national movement will be the measure of their adherence to it.... The Congress, it is said, must hold the balance fairly between capital and labour and zamindar and the peasant. And the balance has been and is terribly weighed on one side and to maintain the status quo is to maintain injustice and exploitation. The only way to right it is to do away with the domination of any one class over another.'⁴

The socialist vision which Jawaharlal Nehru held out to the poor and the deprived, in particular, endeared him greatly to the people of India. He was convinced, for instance, that the answer to the problem of poverty in India, as the people fought British imperialism and prepared themselves for a transformation in their social and economic conditions, lay in the adoption of a humane and creative socialism. He was equally convinced that the liberation movement within India would gain in strength and in international significance if it forged links with similar movements elsewhere in Asia and Africa.

While reflecting upon the social and economic factors which shaped relations between colonial societies and the imperial powers of Europe, Jawaharlal also attempted to gain an insight into the cultural identity of India and the social fabric which held her in bonds of unity over the centuries. In a scholarly work of classical proportions, entitled *The Discovery of India*, he traced the development of Indian civilization from the earliest times to the present twentieth century. The history of this civilization, as Nehru saw it, was a remarkable story of the growth and development of a gifted people, in interaction with migrating communities which poured into the subcontinent from the north-west, attracted by its richness in natural endowments. The people of India, he further observed, possessed a rare capacity to absorb diverse cultures at the same time as they fashioned out of such constituents a composite civilization of great vitality and creative capacity. 'Since that early dawn of history innumerable peoples, conquerors and settlers, pilgrims and students, have trekked into the Indian plains from the highlands of Asia,' Nehru stated. 'India was changed by these contacts and yet she remained essentially her own old self.... It is astonishing to note how India continued successfully this process of assimilation and adaptation. It could only have done so if the idea of a fundamental unity were so deep-rooted as to be accepted even by the newcomer, and if her culture were flexible and adaptable to changing conditions.'⁵

It is necessary to emphasize the world-view of Jawaharlal Nehru because of its

importance for developments within the country after 1947. It is also reflected in the role played by him in world affairs after India's liberation. The socialist vision which Jawaharlal held out to his countrymen was no pale imitation of socialist thought elsewhere in the world. As he pointed out in *The Discovery of India*, the history of his country represented the development of a distinctive world civilization. Any path of socialist transformation for India, therefore, would have to draw heavily upon the historical character of Indian society and culture. Nehru's vision of a socialist transformation was equally firmly anchored to the belief that the changes within Indian society were to be brought about through the active involvement of the people, rather than through initiatives from above. He fervently believed that forced development from above often resulted in gross distortions which harmed instead of benefiting the people.

The policies adopted by Jawaharlal Nehru after 1947, as Prime Minister of India, reflected the international outlook which he had formulated during the years he was leading the National Movement. The key initiative rested in a programme of land reform, which sought to dispossess the owners of large rural estates and parcel out rights in property to the *kisan*, or the peasant-proprietor, who actually cultivated the soil. This revolution in property ownership was closely associated with efforts at community development; whereby the state sought to reach out to the *kisan*, and draw his creative energy into the business of stimulating the rural economy. The transformation in the economy of the villages provided the basis for that revolution which stimulated agricultural productivity on an unprecedented scale.

An equally crucial facet of the economic transformation which Nehru wrought within India is illumined by the initiative taken up under him to foster an industrial revolution in India. The example of the Soviet Union had shown that centralized planning, under the aegis of the state, could successfully prepare the ground for the rapid industrialization of a society. Yet, and it is significant that this realization profoundly informs planning today, Nehru ensured that the economic policies adopted in India in the 1950s attempted to utilize the 'market' as an important factor in equitable economic growth. Not only were substantial sectors of economic activity left to the private entrepreneur; but the mechanism of planning advocated by Jawaharlal Nehru sought to bring about a creative interplay between command systems at the apex, on the one hand, and grass-roots entrepreneurial initiatives by private capital, on the other. Such a mix of command and market factors was designed to ensure a trajectory of economic development which was profoundly rooted within Indian reality, and married the strengths of *laissez-faire* to those of socialism.

✓ Although Jawaharlal Nehru was largely preoccupied with questions relating to the generation of prosperity in India, such concerns did not prevent him from playing a very effective role in international affairs. As he surveyed the world in the 1950s, he could look upon his stances in foreign policy prior to 1947 with a considerable

measure of satisfaction. The ugliness that was fascism, against which he struggled with all the forces at his command in the 1930s and 1940s, had been destroyed by 1945. Nevertheless, the Cold War that broke out between the United States and the Soviet Union thereafter, posed a serious threat to humanity, more particularly because the discovery of nuclear weapons implied that a third world war would mean the end of world civilization. Yet Nehru could take comfort in the increasing strength of those former colonies in Asia and Africa whose independence closely followed the liberation of India from British rule in 1947. The rich anti-imperialist experience of India, as well as her size and potential, so Jawaharlal Nehru believed, imposed certain special responsibilities upon her leaders and her people in two distinct domains: first, in drawing together into a cohesive force the newly-liberated countries of Asia and Africa; secondly, in utilizing the organized strength of these countries for ensuring world peace and facilitating their development into self-reliant polities.

Indeed, Nehru entertained a vision of the world community in which India, in association with other newly-liberated countries, would play a seminal role in shaping the destiny of humanity in the second half of our century. Nehru further believed that this era could go down in history as an era in which peace between nations, big and small, could bring about a hitherto unprecedented increase in the productive capacities of man, at the same time as the rewards of human labour were equitably distributed between different nations. The character of Jawaharlal Nehru's vision is sensitively reflected in the manner in which he conducted India's relations, on the one hand, with nations like the United States and Soviet Union, and on the other, with those polities of Asia and Africa around which he sought to create a Non-Aligned Movement, which would become a bastion of world peace and guarantor for the peoples of Asia and Africa of their economic development as self-reliant communities.

Nehru's relations with the Soviet Union were grounded in the belief, first voiced in the 1930s, that the newly-liberated polities could enter into a mutually beneficial relationship with the socialist world. In the years after 1947, Jawaharlal also reached out to the United States, a country whose economic vitality and democratic vigour he greatly admired; a country, moreover, which could prove of considerable assistance to India in her desire to industrialize herself. However, the growing intensity of the Cold War brought about certain distortions which made it difficult for Jawaharlal Nehru to maintain those relations of cordiality which he sought with the United States. These distortions were reflected in two directions. In the first instance, the United States tendered military assistance to Pakistan in order to arm her as a foil against the Soviet Union, in apparent ignorance of the fact that such military assistance could only be used to attack India. Next, the assertion of an autonomous foreign policy by India, and the leadership which she gave to the non-aligned world, was also viewed with a measure of suspicion by the United States at this juncture. The Soviet Union, by contrast, adopted a slightly different stance towards India and non-alignment, and this became more pronounced at least after the death of Stalin in 1953. The Soviet

leaders of the post-Stalin era looked upon India and other newly-liberated countries as polities which contributed substantially to world peace, even while they were engaged in a programme of social and economic development designed to provide a life of material dignity for their citizens. The altered attitude of the Soviet leaders ushered in an era of friendship between the Soviet Union and India which paid rich dividends to both countries.

Even in the course of the struggle for liberation, Jawaharlal Nehru had regarded the coming together of the peoples of Asia and Africa as a crucial step towards their national resurgence. The opportunity to forge such a unity presented itself in the 1950s, when increasing tension between capitalist and socialist societies created the urgent need for developing countries to bring the voice of sanity and reason to bear upon the affairs of the world community. Through the joint efforts of Jawaharlal Nehru, President Nasser of Egypt, and President Soekarno of Indonesia, the newly-liberated polities of Asia and Africa met in Bandung in 1955 to strengthen the foundations of their co-operation. Despite the scepticism, and worse, with which the meeting was received by the West, its historical significance was enormous. Admittedly, such a gathering could not draw up a precise agenda of action or frame a concrete stance on many issues. Nevertheless, the significance of the meeting lay in that it created an independent forum for countries which had been dominated for centuries by the imperialist powers of Europe. Jawaharlal played a leading role at Bandung; and his tactful handling was visible in the broad consensus which emerged at this meeting on questions of peace in the world community and relations between developing societies. On his return to India, Jawaharlal Nehru spoke at some length in Parliament on the significance of Bandung: 'The Bandung Conference has been a historic event. If it only met, the meeting itself would have been a great achievement, as it would have represented the emergence of a new Asia and Africa, of new nations who are on the march towards the fulfilment of their independence and of their sense of their role in the world. Bandung proclaimed the political emergence in world affairs of over half the world's population. It presented no unfriendly challenge or hostility to anyone but proclaimed a new and rich contribution.... Each major decision of the Conference happily refers to the United Nations and to world problems and ideals. We believe that from Bandung our great organization, the United Nations, has derived strength. This means in turn that Asia and Africa must play an increasing role in the conduct and the destiny of the world organization.'⁶

Jawaharlal Nehru's involvement in world politics also drew him to the great questions of war and peace in his times. Here, the character of the struggle for liberation within India and the distinctive ideology—the ideology of satyagraha or non-violence—which underpinned this struggle, exercised a decisive influence upon his thought and action. Surely, so Nehru argued, a course of political action which had been successful in resolving conflict between Britain and India could with equal facility resolve conflict between other nations, big or small, within the world

community? Non-violence, he further argued, was all the more important as a method of conflict resolution in the contemporary world because of the awesomeness of nuclear weapons and the horrifying possibility which they held out of the destruction of the human species.

Indeed, when Nehru reflected upon the world scene in 1958, he was struck by the contrast between the domination man had acquired over the physical universe, and the relative weakness in his control over the moral universe. 'Conquering the world physically, he fails to conquer himself,' Nehru stated in a philosophical essay which he penned at this juncture.⁷ All this made the message of non-violence, the belief that enduring power grew out of moral action rather than out of the barrel of a gun, particularly relevant to the times. 'Thus, violence cannot possibly lead today to a solution of any major problem because violence has become too terrible and destructive. The moral approach to the question has now been powerfully reinforced by the practical aspect,' Nehru observed.⁸

Nehru's belief in non-violence and in moral power as the basis of true statesmanship encouraged him to involve himself in a world-wide crusade for disarmament and for the propagation of peace. His participation in this movement also stemmed from the belief that the great majority of the people everywhere wanted their leaders 'to labour for peace and to succeed'. 'Whether we are big or small, we have to face these issues vital to the future of humanity,' Nehru stated. 'Everything is of lesser importance than this major question. I am absolutely convinced that we shall never settle this question by war or by a mental approach which envisages war and prepares for it.'⁹ The crusade for world peace represented the noblest in Jawaharlal Nehru. It also represented the truest traditions of a civilization which had given birth, in Gautama Buddha and in Mahatma Gandhi, to two of the greatest theorists and practitioners of non-violence as the basis of resolving conflict within human society. Indeed, the notion of *ahimsa*, or non-violence, was the greatest gift given by India to humanity. Perhaps it is also India's most enduring contribution to that corpus of moral values which will, in the long run, shape the future of humanity.

The part played by Jawaharlal Nehru in national and international affairs is relatively easy to narrate. Yet no account of his public activities, howsoever momentous they may have been, can by itself recapture the sparkling vitality, the passionate humanity and the profound integrity of the inner man. From across the span of two score years and more he looks out to us, in his many portraits, as a handsome person with sharply chiselled features of classical perfection. He was also a supremely sensitive man, with the reflective countenance of a philosopher or a scholar, whom the urgency of his times and the needs of his people had drawn into public affairs. Once he was drawn into nationalist politics, however, Jawaharlal gave to the cause of Indian freedom—and to the cause of ensuring peace and prosperity for the land—a depth of commitment which is rarely to be found in history. Perhaps this commitment flowed from his deep love for the people of India, rich or poor, high or

low. This love also sustained Jawaharlal Nehru during the long years he strove for Indian independence and for bestowing prosperity upon his country. No less striking was the affection which the people of India, in turn, bestowed upon him. As he stated in his 'Will and Testament': 'I have received so much love and affection from the Indian people that nothing that I can do can repay even a small fraction of it.... I can only express the hope that in the remaining years I may live, I shall not be unworthy of my people and their affection.'¹⁰

It is difficult to sum up, in so brief an essay, Jawaharlal Nehru's lasting contribution to his country or to the world community. Prior to 1947, Nehru decisively influenced the ideological climate within which the National Movement achieved its political objectives. After 1947, as Prime Minister, he played a seminal role in shaping the formal as well as the informal institutions of Indian politics. Here, his deep commitment to liberal values and to democratic institutions helped him enormously in carrying out the colossal task he had taken upon himself. 'Democracy, apart from its institutions, is a way.... [of] life itself,' he once observed. 'I firmly believe that it is a better way than a dictatorship or authoritarianism. In the long run, dictatorships must, I think, rather stunt the growth of the country. There are initial advantages which are obvious and the outward pace of progress appears to be fast. But it is very doubtful if the essential quality which underlies human progress, i.e. the creative spirit of man, can develop adequately under the authoritarian systems. To some extent, of course, such authoritarian systems as have economic equality as their goal, are initially liberating forces and release tremendous popular energy. That is a great advantage. But if dictatorship continues, the creative spirit may gradually fade.'¹¹

No less significant was Nehru's role in defining the strategy through which India could transform herself into a modern industrial society. The key to such a transformation, so he believed, lay in an agrarian revolution through which the owners of large rural estates were dispossessed of their property; and these rights were transferred to those peasants who actually cultivated the soil. Such a programme of rural reform was closely linked, in Nehru's overall view, to the establishment of heavy and light industries, partly through the initiative of the state and partly also through private initiative. Nor did Nehru complete these steps without dwelling upon their impact on society as a whole. For he was deeply committed to the principle of social equity. The increased wealth flowing from the industrial revolution, so Nehru believed, ought to be distributed across different classes in such a manner that those directly involved in social production, namely the worker, the peasant, the artisan, or the tribal, received an equitable share.

While Nehru's place in the history of his times is secure, it is relevant to ask whether his world-view carries a durable significance for humanity. There is no ready answer to this question. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that some of the ideas propagated by him can be utilized to meet the challenges of the closing years of the twentieth century. It is, for instance, no coincidence that the relevance of non-

violence to the resolution of conflict between nations, big or small, has been invoked repeatedly in our times by some distinguished statesmen. Nehru had emphasized, more than three decades ago, that the destructive capacity of nuclear weapons left humanity with no choice except to pursue the path of non-violence. His advocacy of non-violence in the 1950s, in the tense climate of the Cold War and bitter superpower rivalry, often excited scepticism and worse. Nevertheless, the sheer insanity of nuclear stockpiling, which ensured little apart from mutual destruction, has gradually convinced some of the leaders of the most powerful nations on our planet that humanity, if it is to survive, must tread the path of *ahimsa* in the decades which lie ahead.

The strategy of economic development fashioned by Jawaharlal Nehru, too, has stood the test of time admirably. The conventional models of economic growth focused either upon the vitality and dynamism of private entrepreneurship and the market, as visualized by liberal ideology; or upon the equity and rationality of planned development and command systems, as visualized by radical ideology. The strategy devised by Nehru sought to combine the vitality of free enterprise with the humane concerns reflected in socialist planning. The wisdom of such a strategy, which married the strengths of these alternative paths, is conceded by savants no less than it is conceded by statesmen in our times.

As we move towards a new millennium, the nations of the world face challenges of a scale unprecedented in the history of humanity. These challenges relate to the strengthening of democratic institutions and to the stimulation of economic growth as much as they relate to the generation of moral values which can sustain nations and promote peace in a world threatened with nuclear war. There is also a widespread feeling, among persons involved in politics as well as among scholars who reflect upon the human condition, that conventional wisdom can provide no solutions to the problems which humanity faces today. Perhaps some of the ideas expressed by Jawaharlal Nehru, if creatively reinterpreted in our times, can provide possible solutions to such problems. Such a reinterpretation of the ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru would be the most fitting tribute to the memory of a distinguished statesman and thinker who represented all that was true and noble in the traditions of Indian civilization, and indeed, of world civilization as a whole.

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Tributes

YOUTH ON TRIAL

Mahatma Gandhi

IT WAS A GREAT and a wise step the All-India Congress Committee took at Lucknow on 29th ultimo in electing Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the Congress helmsman for the coming year. No man, however great, be he even a Mahatma, is indispensable for a nation conscious of itself and bent upon freedom. Even as the whole is always greater than its parts, the Congress, which claims to represent the nation, is always greater than its greatest part. To be a living organization it must survive its most distinguished members. The All-India Congress Committee has by its decision demonstrated that it believes in the inherent vitality of the Congress.

• Some fear in this transference of power from the old to the young the doom of the Congress. I do not. The doom was to be feared from the sceptre being held by paralytic hands as mine are at present. I may take the reader into the secret that before recommending Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's name for the burden I had ascertained from him whether he felt himself strong enough to bear the weight. 'If it is thrust upon me, I hope I shall not wince,' was the characteristic reply. In bravery he is not to be surpassed. Who can excel him in the love of the country? 'He is rash and impetuous,' say some. This quality is an additional qualification at the present moment. And if he has the dash and the rashness of a warrior, he has also the prudence of a statesman. A lover of discipline, he has shown himself to be capable of rigidly submitting to it even where it has seemed irksome. He is undoubtedly an extremist, thinking far ahead of his surroundings. But he is humble and practical enough not to force the pace to the breaking point. He is pure as the crystal, he is truthful beyond suspicion. He is a knight *sans peur, et sans reproche*. The nation is safe in his hands.*

But the youth are on their trial. This has been a year for the youth's awakening. Theirs undoubtedly was the largest contribution to the brilliant success of the Simon Commission boycott. They may take the election of Jawaharlal Nehru as a tribute to their service. But the youth may not rest on their laurels. They have to march many more stages before the nation comes into its own. Steam becomes a mighty power only when it allows itself to be imprisoned in a strong little reservoir and produces tremendous motion and carries huge weights by permitting itself a tiny and measured outlet. Even so have the youth of the country, of their own free will, to allow their inexhaustible energy to be imprisoned, controlled and set free in strictly measured and required quantities. This appointment of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the captain is

proof of the trust the nation reposes in its youth. Jawaharlal alone can do little. The youth of the country must be his arms and his eyes. Let them prove worthy of the trust.

Young India
3 October 1929

प्रिय जवाहरलाल,
 ७५९/४ ७७५७
 साधु महोदय पंजाब के श्री
 कौर की वरक भोग
 ई. ई. ई. दुकान ने मेने
 प्रभु को कहा वही कह रहा,
 बहल वर्ष जीया
 ३०/१२ ई. ई. के जवाहर.
 बने रहो.
 १२-१-४८ साधु के साहसी

On 13 January 1948, a couple of weeks before his assassination, Mahatma Gandhi undertook a fast in Delhi to restore harmony between Hindus and Muslims. He broke it on 18 January on assurances from leaders of the two communities. Meanwhile Jawaharlal Nehru had undertaken a sympathetic fast. Mahatma Gandhi in this note asks Nehru to end his fast. The last sentence says:

'Live for many years and remain the *jawahar* (jewel) of India.'

POET, THINKER, AND MAN OF ACTION

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah

PANDIT NEHRU'S ACHIEVEMENT consists in the integration of the Indian struggle for independence into a united and successful upsurge against foreign domination. The Indian National Movement has evolved through definite stages of an increasing measure of concretization of its economic and political programme, as well as of increase in its volume. Pandit Nehru has contributed in a distinct and prominent way to the shaping of such programmes. Before and after he strode into the Indian political arena, people in many parts of the country were fighting local freedom battles which were operationally unrelated to the broad national movement in the country, for instance, in some of the States, or the North-West Frontier Province. It is his dynamic personality which is responsible for channelizing all these streams into a stormy torrent which swept away a mighty empire.

To start with, the National Movement was confined to the so-called British India. The great mass of humanity inhabiting Indian India had yet not been awakened to sufficient militancy to be able to play an effective role in the liberation of the country. The people in the States continued to groan under the weight of slavery. The princely order was the greatest ally of the British in India. No struggle against alien rule could succeed without the reduction of this stronghold of imperialism. With a profound insight into the future, Pandit Nehru was among the first to realize that to achieve national ideals it was essential to organize the States' people, to weld the rising, isolated movements in the States into one political framework, on one platform, with a united programme of action.

Such an organization had necessarily got to be separated from the Indian National Congress, because the problems facing the people in the States were different in many respects from the problems of the people in British India. The conditions prevalent in the States were different. Panditji had the opportunity of experiencing them when he was arbitrarily detained by the Nabha State authorities. The situation there was complicated by the fact that the fight against foreign rule involved the priority of liquidating the unhampered autocratic power wielded by the princes. Hence, the need for the States People's Conference which was to lead the attack against the princely order. Panditji was the guiding source of inspiration in forging the States People's Conference.

In our own State, the expression of grievances on the part of the people was confined to presenting appeals to the Prince before 1925. The year 1925, for the first

time in history, saw the people involved in an organized political campaign: the State-owned silk factory workers struck work, demanding more education and better wages. However, the large mass of people remained unmoved. By 1931, the unrest had become universal. The causes operating were the same as those which culminated in the Civil Disobedience Movement in India. The peasant could no longer tolerate the gruelling conditions of poverty and starvation; there was mass unemployment in the country. The only solution was the abolition of the old order. The whole of the State was shaken by a colossal political earthquake. The tiller demanded his right to the fruit of his labour; the right to employment and the right to a popular share in the administration were insisted upon.

One of the weaknesses of the movement was that it was isolated. There were people who slandered it as being communal in import and purpose. It goes to the undying credit of Pandit Nehru that he stood up to defend the movement against slander. He characterized it as an expression of the progressive will of the Kashmiris to throw away the yoke of autocracy and foreign rule. It is he who was responsible for ushering in our movement into the fold of the States People's Conference.

Likewise the role of Pandit Nehru with regard to the freedom movement of the Pathans is significant. Living along strategically the most important and the most vulnerable of India's frontiers, the Pathans have ever refused to submit to any of India's conquerors, from Alexander to the British. The British tried to rule them through ruthless use of force, by bribery, and by fomenting internecine feuds. The Khan brothers united the Pathans as one people, and led them against the common enemy, suffering untold hardships and sacrifices. In their bitter struggle what they needed most was allies. People who were posing as the guardians of the claims of the Mussalmans of India refused to show them any quarter. Pandit Nehru embraced them with welcoming arms and was instrumental in getting the Khudai Khidmatgars (literally, Servants of God, the name given to followers of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan), linked up with the Indian National Congress.

Pandit Nehru has been a fighter not only for national freedom. His activities have had a vaster canvas. He has all along fought for the liberation of all the oppressed peoples of the world. Endowed with a historical perspective, he knew that national freedom and international progress are interlinked. There are two contending camps in the world—the camp of progress and the camp of reaction, the camp of democracy and the camp of tyranny. The victory of freedom and democracy depends on unity within the camp of progress. Any setback to progress in one country would result in a weakening of its forces in others. That explains why his heart wept when the Nazis tramped across the beautiful squares of Vienna; that is why he was so keenly interested in the issue of the Spanish Civil War. His support for the Arabs of Palestine was unstinted. His one recent concern is the Dutch aggression against Indonesian freedom. The loudest in protest against injustice and tyranny, he is the Shelley of our times, with the added capacity of being able to translate his ideals into action.

This comparison is not unfair to Shelley, for Panditji is a poet at heart. Possessed of a refined sensibility and a catholic intellect, he has all the ingredients in his personality which constitute a poet. The urgent problems of poverty and ignorance of his people forced him to dedicate his entire faculties and energy to the stress and storm of politics. But whenever he could get opportunities to recollect emotion in tranquillity, i.e. in the cloistered solitude of a prison cell, he poured forth lyrics in prose, which his writings are.

I have known Panditji intimately for over a decade now. He has been to me not only a comrade-in-arms, but also a friend, philosopher and guide. He has always regarded me with deep affection, and his love has flown abundantly to the people of Jammu and Kashmir to whose rescue he always came in moments of crisis. During the 'Quit Kashmir' days, when we were engaged in a last-ditch battle against autocracy, he arrived post-haste in Kashmir and did all he could to steer us successfully through a sorely trying period.

Pandit Nehru rose to magnificent heights of personality during the communal disturbances in the Punjab and Delhi. In a frenzied world, when man had ceased to be human, when civilization was carried back to the primitive period, when crime had ceased to be a crime, when killing and rape were regarded as patriotic acts, Nehru, along with Gandhiji, stood firm as a rock in a turbulent ocean, emanating the light of love, peace and fellow-feeling. And it is his stand that has finally been vindicated. He has been able to establish that the path of progress lies in the direction of communal concord, towards the setting up of a non-communal, secular state.

In the world today, torn as it is by bitter strife, Pandit Nehru emerges as a glorious symbol of peace and progress. There are forces which are driving the world in the direction of a devastating conflagration, although it has not yet recovered from the ravages of the last great war. The forces of aggression are polarising in two camps, a clash between which will mean the destruction of mankind. A race for armaments has already started, and we know from past experience where this race leads to. The need of the moment is the marshalling of all forces of peace, to abolish war as a method of international arbitration. The single biggest factor which can turn the balance in favour of peace is Pandit Nehru.

Nehru Abhinandan Granth

6 April 1949

NEHRU IN RETROSPECT

Clement Attlee

MY FIRST ENCOUNTER with Jawaharlal Nehru was when I was on the Indian Statutory Commission in 1928. He was standing with a number of young men shouting, 'Simon, go back!' We next met just before the Second World War. We met at Sir Stafford Cripps' house and discussed the Indian problem. We worked out and agreed to a scheme for the summoning of a Constituent Assembly to decide on India's future. This was in fact the proposal which Cripps carried to India on behalf of the Wartime Cabinet on the so-called Cripps Mission....

Indian Independence had to wait until I was Prime Minister. I sent out the Cabinet Mission whose well-intentioned plan failed of acceptance owing to Hindu-Muslim tension which had much increased in the interval. I invited Mr Nehru and Mr Jinnah and the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, to come to London to discuss the matter with my colleagues and myself, but once again no agreement could be reached. I was much impressed by Nehru's wide outlook, charm and reasonableness.

Thanks largely to Lord Mountbatten, but at the expense of dividing India, I was enabled to introduce and carry through the Indian Independence Bill.

When Nehru and I next met, we were both Prime Ministers at a Commonwealth Conference. There I could admire the ability of the Indian Prime Minister to hold his own with such men as Field Marshal Smuts, Mr Curtin of Australia and Mr Peter Fraser of New Zealand. At these conferences, though much of importance occurs at the formal meetings, a great deal of work is done at informal talks, especially on problems of internal moment to a particular dominion....

Henceforward over many years, with frequent meetings, I became more intimate with Mr Nehru and much admired the way in which he piloted his country through the transition period and the difficulties of a country emerging into full independence. He had the inestimable advantage of being equally versed in Indian and European cultures. He could, therefore, while fully aware of his problems and those of Asia, also understand European and antipodean outlooks, as well as that of the United States. He was of course a strong supporter of the United Nations and gave his support when the United Nations decided on intervening to oppose aggression in Korea, and sent an ambulance unit to co-operate with the Commonwealth Division in that country.

I recall too that my last meeting with him in India was when we spoke together in support of World Government in New Delhi. It was natural that he and I, as fellow believers in democratic socialism, were in close sympathy. I understood the enormous

task which he had to undertake in seeking to raise the standard of life of the people of India.... Naturally, as a disciple of Mr Gandhi, he desired to follow a policy of non-alignment and to avoid taking sides in the ideological struggle between East and West, though he was far too good a democrat to accept the philosophy of Communism. Indeed one of his greatest titles to fame is having kept India on the democratic path and to having created the most populous democracy in the world. Equally he withstood extreme regionalism which might easily have prompted fissiparous tendencies....

Nehru was a great moral force. He was selfless and never fell into the error of seeking to make himself a dictator or of assuming superiority to other men. It has been said truly that power corrupts, but it is also true that not all holders of it are corrupted by it, nor did he fall into the error of seeking to get quick results by adopting undemocratic methods. It may be that he held on to power too long, but this was not, I think, from any ignoble ambition to continue in his high position but from a desire to serve India to the utmost of his power.

There are few, if any, parallels in history to the magnitude of Nehru's achievement, and whatever storms in future may blow up, India will be eternally grateful to the man who piloted the Ship of State on her maiden voyage with so few errors of navigation. He will rightly go down in history as one of the world's great men who lived up to the high ideals which inspired him.

The Legacy of Nehru
1965

UTTERLY DEPENDABLE

S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike

I HAVE KNOWN NEHRU personally for over twenty-five years. I first came in contact with him when he visited Ceylon in the early 1930s. The first thing that struck me about him was the contrast he presented to his great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who also had visited Ceylon some time earlier. The Mahatma was clearly a son of the people. He was also, although a saint and ascetic, very human, with a strong sense of humour. Physically, although he looked frail, he was tough with an almost inexhaustible fund of physical energy. Nehru, on the other hand, is a delicately nurtured aristocrat with highstrung nerves, possessed also of inexhaustible energy, though in his case, it is more nervous energy than physical. It is a fact that he often uses up his nervous energy and that makes him sometimes short-tempered and irritable....

I wish to say something about another side of Nehru: his position as a public man. He is a great servant of his country and an outstanding statesman of Asia and the world generally. I remember some years ago, at a time when he was not the acknowledged leader of India as he later became, asking a prominent Indian leader who, in his opinion, was the most outstanding leader after Mahatma Gandhi. He said, 'Jawaharlal Nehru'. When I further questioned him why he chose Nehru in preference to some others whose names I mentioned, he replied, 'Because Nehru is so utterly dependable.' I should think that it is this feeling about him that has ensured for him the continuing confidence of the vast majority of his people. Nehru is one of the few statesmen of the world who have a background of culture and learning, and who are thinkers beside being also men of action. Such men are necessary as leaders particularly at a troubled period of world history such as this—men with a background of learning, men who can think clearly, men who can see a problem not merely from one point of view, but in all its aspects and who can come to decisions, sometimes very difficult decisions, with a knowledge of factors not only in respect of the past and the present, but also of the future. Nehru has not only a knowledge of history, so important for statesmen to have, but something much more than that. He understands the philosophy of history. He therefore has a correct feeling for the trends of the present and the future. At the same time he is a man of courage. As he himself has said, 'I may sometimes lose my temper but I never lose my nerve.' It is these qualities that make him a valuable servant of India and an important world statesman....

A Study of Nehru
1959

DEEP FAITH IN SCIENCE

Homi Bhabha

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, as Prime Minister of India for seventeen years since the beginning of Independence, moulded the character of modern India. Science was an essential, indeed a basic, component of the India which he sought and worked so hard to build. 'It is now patent,' he said, 'that without science and technology we cannot progress.' So great was his zeal for science and for the scientific approach to life that he missed no opportunity of imparting his views to others. To quote: 'You know that whenever the chance offers itself I say something about the importance of science and its offshoot, technology. I think we should realize that modern life is an offspring of science and technology.'

For Jawaharlal Nehru the supreme task of the age was to lift mankind from its age-old state of bare subsistence to a social level which provided security, material plenty and, above all, the opportunities for fulfilment and for a higher life to all. He knew that this aim could be achieved through, and only through, science and its application and he believed profoundly that India could become a great nation only by basing its way of life on modern science....

We all know that Jawaharlal Nehru was ardently dedicated to peace; to peaceful methods for settling disputes and disagreements, to peace in India, to peace in the world. As Gandhiji predicted of him in 1942, 'I know this that when I am gone he will speak my language.' What is relevant to record ... is that he felt that science should only be used for bettering man's lot and not for devising more powerful and destructive weapons of war. And under his guidance the Indian atomic energy programme has to this day no military component, whereas it could easily have had a sizeable one.

Although not a practising scientist, Jawaharlal Nehru's personality revealed throughout the essential attributes of the real man of science—'his unquenched thirst for truth, his questing mind that admitted no man-made barriers, his essential humility, his constant willingness to learn and to teach'—to quote from the condolence resolution of the Scientific Advisory Committee to the Cabinet. He saw science as a great intellectual discipline which broadened a man's personality and made him look at things objectively and dispassionately. 'What is science?' he asked, and replied, 'It is the search for truth, truth of the physical world, ... truth arrived at by a process of trial and error, by experiment, not taking something for granted until it is proved, and rejecting everything that is disproved or does not fit in with the facts before us.'

And he continued: 'That not only gives us a greater understanding of the world as it is, but creates ultimately a temper, an objective temper, a dispassionate scientific temper, which should help us in dealing with other problems. All the problems that come up in Parliament or elsewhere, or whatever they may be, could be dealt with better if we approach them in a scientific frame of mind.' It was the scientific temper which he cherished, which he wished to inculcate in the Indian people....

I cannot do better than to end by quoting the words of Jawaharlal Nehru: 'Science has developed at an ever-increasing pace since the beginning of the century, so that the gap between the advanced and backward countries has widened more and more. It is only by adopting the most vigorous measures and by putting forward our utmost effort into the development of science that we can bridge the gap. It is an inherent obligation of a great country like India, with its traditions of scholarship and original thinking and its great cultural heritage, to participate fully in the march of science, which is probably mankind's greatest enterprise today.'

From a broadcast on All India Radio
'Homage to Jawaharlal Nehru'

1964

MAN WITHOUT HATRED OR PREJUDICE

Vinoba Bhave

I WAS IN A SMALL VILLAGE yesterday, when news came about the sudden and unexpected passing away of our national leader, Pandit Nehru. I cannot express in words the deep affection I had for him. Only yesterday I had said that a person who is in politics is rarely found to be without prejudice and animosity. Pandit Nehru was one of those rare personalities. He had no hatred, prejudice or enmity against anyone. He placed before the country the ideal of *purna swaraj* (total independence). He wanted India and Indians to be completely independent and did not want the sovereignty of India to be hampered in any way. He put before the citizens of India the ideal of absolute freedom which is the message of the Gita also....

Translated from the Hindi
May 1964

GANDHI AND NEHRU

Fenner Brockway

THE ASSOCIATION OF GANDHI and Nehru for over thirty years is an epic in human co-operation. Their names are indissoluble in the record of India's struggle for freedom....

Yet, in many ways Gandhi and Nehru are opposites.

Although he influenced, above all others, one of the most progressive events in history—the recognition by Britain of India's right to independence—Gandhi was, in the real meaning of the word, a conservative. He hated the impact which science has had on life during the last century, the industrial revolution, the machine age, the new atomic age. His ideal was the simple life of the village and its domestic crafts.

Nehru, on the other hand, has always been essentially a progressive. He does not quarrel with history. He hates the way in which science has been applied; but he rejoices in the expanding powers of man. He believes that they can be used for the emancipation of the human race, and he sees his task as the aiding of this process.

How did it come about, then, that these two men, with their fundamentally different social philosophies, came to be wedded in such close political partnership?

The contact between them began, of course, in their common devotion to the cause of Indian freedom. Growing towards manhood, Nehru read with excitement and admiration of Gandhi's defiance of racial discrimination in South Africa. Under Gandhi's leadership the Indians of Natal and the Transvaal were asserting their human equality not merely by resolutions and speeches, but by dynamic action. An army of them crossed the frontier, from one province to another, without the passes demanded only of 'coloured' persons; hundreds of Indian miners stopped work; arrested Indians filled the gaols. Nehru in those days did not pause to examine the social philosophy of Gandhi—indeed, the Mahatma's basic beliefs were then only in a formative stage. He was not troubled by the issue as to whether resistance should be violent or non-violent. He saw only that challenging and courageous deeds were being performed in Africa and that they were proving effective. Gandhi became a hero to him.

When young Nehru met his hero, he fell under the charm and magnetism of the sublime personality of the man who was both saint and politician. It was this personal devotion to Gandhi's unique character, which, more than anything else, bound Nehru to the Mahatma all through his life, despite their differences of social outlook. Gandhi's utter selflessness, his entire fearlessness, his complete identification with the

poorest peasant and the scorned 'untouchable', the beauty and kindliness and simplicity of his life—these won Nehru's reverence, so that philosophy became of less account in their relationship than personality. What mattered Gandhi's views of social progress, when he was prepared to fast unto death for the emancipation of India?

Nehru found, too, that Gandhi's sense of human values was his own, even if the Mahatma gave them different intellectual expression. Gandhi's devotion to the peasant became Nehru's first devotion also when he had seen for himself the cruel privations under which they lived. Gandhi's passion for Hindu-Muslim unity: the achievement of that became equally Nehru's mission, when he saw how both were humiliated by alien rule and exploited by economic privilege. Gandhi's claim for the natural equality of all human beings, whatever their race: that was no less Nehru's supreme motive. Spiritually Gandhi and Nehru were one in all these essential principles, however different their conceptions were of the way of social advance.

But, in addition to these personal approximations, there was an historical reason for the political partnership of Gandhi and Nehru. Gandhi's philosophy was suited to the stage of struggle which India had reached, and Nehru understood this. Nehru might not accept entirely Gandhi's belief in non-violence, but he knew that in India no other policy was possible. However much he differed from Gandhi's subjective approach to political problems, he knew that the Mahatma was expressing in this the mind and spirit of the millions of peasants of India. Gandhi's saintly character, his manner of thought and life, the example of his own courage and sacrifice, his voluntary abandonment of all material possessions, the sincerity of his religion—these were in tune with the soul of India, and only Gandhi could bring about the spiritual revolution which must precede India's political revolution. Nehru appreciated this and devoted himself loyally in service of the man destined by history to lift India from its knees, to give it the spirit to stand erect, the conscious equal of all.

And now India has passed to another stage. It is not only standing self-reliantly and proudly erect. It is marching forward. And here the qualities of Nehru are required.

His modern constructive mind, his grasp of social changes in every part of the earth, his understanding of international affairs, these qualities were held in reserve during the struggle for India's independence, waiting for the day when India would need them, used even then as occasion demanded but germinating for full use when they would be supremely necessary.

That time has come.

Nehru Abhinandan Granth

15 March 1949

ABSENCE OF BITTERNESS

Winston Churchill

I WAS MUCH TOUCHED by what you said. One of the most agreeable memories of my last years in office is our association. At our conferences your contribution was a leading and constructive one, and I always admired your ardent wish for peace and the absence of bitterness in your consideration of antagonisms that had in the past divided us. Yours is indeed a heavy burden and responsibility, shaping the destiny of your many millions of countrymen, and playing your outstanding part in world affairs. I wish you well in your task. Remember 'The Light of Asia'....

Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru

30 June 1955

THE IDEAL ITSELF

Éamon de Valera

NEXT TO GANDHI, the name Nehru has meant to us here in Ireland, Indian Independence—the ideal itself, and the movement to achieve it.

We rejoice that Free India has Nehru to guide it in its initial formative years. We pray that the very noble dream that he has dreamed for India during the long period over which he has striven to win her freedom, may be realized—everything that would make for the well-being of the Indian people, everything that would exalt India among the nations, everything that would increase her contribution to the ennoblement and the happiness of mankind.

We wish him many further years of fruitful endeavour in the interests of his nation and his people.

Nehru Abhinandan Granth

March 1949

PRINCIPLES AND CONSCIENCE

Ilya Ehrenburg

THINKING ABOUT MY PAST LIFE I remember with gratitude some great men who helped me to understand many things. Some of them I met in my youth, others when I was at a mature age; there were even some unexpected pleasures in my later life. When I saw Einstein he was sixty-seven years old. Shortly after this Matisse asked me to sit for him. He worked in a recumbent position; he was seventy-six. In January 1956 I spent an evening at Jawaharlal Nehru's house; he was then sixty-seven. A scientist, an artist and a politician—one would have thought these people and these conversations could have nothing in common with one another. But it is not by accident that I have recalled these three meetings: we spoke about different things and at the same time about one thing—about the complications of life, misfortune, human dignity—and after each of these meetings I realized that our path through life is illuminated by the intelligence and conscience of the 'thinking reed'.

I have called Jawaharlal Nehru a politician, and I cannot do otherwise—he fought all his life for his people's liberation, he was in prison for many years, and for many years he led the young, though ancient, India. By temperament, however, Nehru was anything but a politician—he had neither the fanaticism nor the coldness of the experienced strategist, nor the passion of the power-hungry. If I had met him by chance at some airport, I would have thought that in all likelihood this man was a poet. During his life, of course, most of the people he met were politicians—that was his profession—but he clearly recalled his conversations with Romain Rolland, Rabindranath Tagore, Einstein and the young German poet Ernst Töller. Historians, sociologists and diplomats have written and will write about the part Jawaharlal Nehru played. I should like to tell you about the image which remains in my memory—that of a great humanist of our age.

Nehru often said that he was born in the nineteenth century and was brought up on the basis of its values. Yet conservatism was alien to him and he saw the falsehood of liberalism. All of his life he spoke with great respect of Lenin, the October Revolution and the Soviet people. When they wish to praise someone, people often say he is 'monolithic'. But a man is not like a rock. Jawaharlal Nehru was a miraculous alloy of ages, cultures and ideologies.

By education Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the most enlightened persons in the world, and his acquaintance with the West is well known. However, he was not one of those products of Cambridge or Oxford who, in their desire to revitalize India, not

only speak but quite often think in English. For him Shakespeare did not overshadow Kalidasa, and he conversed with a Punjabi peasant as naturally as with a Cambridge professor. Racial and national arrogance in anyone sickened him. He passionately loved India and ridiculed the Indian retrogrades for whom India's technical backwardness was a virtue and not a misfortune. He did not admire American luxury and refused to make a religion of statistics. He knew that a man with knowledge but without consciousness is like a robot.

To express my thought more exactly, I must refer to some specific field. I will take the one I know a little about—painting. In India one can find artists who blindly imitate the contemporary painting of the West, and others who try to paint in the manner of the ancient Indian masters, but in each case they are epigonic. However, when we look at the canvases of Amrita Sher Gil, who died at the age of twenty-eight, we see a wonderful fusion; they bring to mind both the frescoes of Ajanta done fifteen centuries ago and Cézanne's paintings. Jawaharlal Nehru succeeded in giving India some features of European culture without abandoning the wealth of national traditions.

One can speak about a politician's successes and failures, but I would like to say that moral principles and conscience permeate the whole life of Nehru. In 1938 he went to Europe. He spent five days in the doomed city of Barcelona. The city was bombed and here are the words written by Nehru: 'There, in the midst of want and destruction and ever-impending disaster, I felt more at peace with myself than anywhere else in Europe. There was light there, the light of courage and determination and of doing something worthwhile.'

He contrasted the courage of Republican Spain with the 'Munich' policy of the West—'the difficult and intricate game of how to betray your friend and the cause you are supposed to stand for on the highest moral grounds.'

The Legacy of Nehru

1965

SCIENTISTS LOOK UP TO NEHRU

Albert Einstein

WE, THE WORSHIPPERS OF SCIENCE, are today looking up to Jawaharlal Nehru—the heir to Gandhi and captain of the Indian people—for leadership in mankind's resolute stand to the implications of the atomic war. He has earned for himself this responsibility by keeping India aloof from the Cold War and away from the 'power camps'; thereby leading her towards peace. This is an era of extreme disorderliness. And, perhaps, Nehru was born to fashion order out of this chaos. Today, the world is off its track. But we have not even a little doubt that this earth will regain its own orbit in this very age of Gandhi and Nehru.

Science Reporter

July/August 1964

A PRACTISING GANDHIAN

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan

DEEPLY GRIEVED TO LEARN of the passing away of one of the greatest sons of the soil, a noble freedom fighter who put into practice Gandhi's ideals of love and peace on earth. Pray Almighty his noble ideals will continue to inspire the people of India, I wish I could be with you by your side in this national bereavement.

Telegram to Shrimati Indira Gandhi

May 1964

A GREAT EDUCATOR OF OUR AGE

Zakir Husain

WE ARE PAYING HOMAGE to one of the most remarkable men of our time, who for seventeen years was the guiding genius of our Democratic Republic.... Shri Nehru was a rock on which we built faith in ourselves. An aristocrat by birth and temperament, Shri Nehru had committed himself totally and unequivocally to democratic ideals, democratic institutions and democratic procedures.

One of the great educators of our time, Shri Nehru made the common people aware of their rights and duties and provided them with the means for making the state policy serve the general interest. Years before India became independent, he committed the country to planned economic growth. His discernment, his foresight, his grasp of essentials, and his astonishing intellectual capacity raised him to heights from which he might have possibly looked down with impatience at small, inhibited, narrow minds, but he schooled himself assiduously in the observance of democratic procedures, in the exercise of patience and restraint.

He aspired to make all his fellow-citizens share his vision of a new society and to dedicate themselves to its realization.

Shri Nehru worked for peace with such conviction and such deep sincerity that he became one of the pioneer architects of an emerging peaceful world community. He gave our foreign policy a direction which, let us hope, will contribute significantly to the full realization of peace on our planet.

May 1964

DREAMS FOR HUMANKIND

Jagjivan Ram

ANY STUDY OF PANDIT NEHRU's rich and colourful personality is bound to suffer from some handicaps difficult to remedy. For one thing his personality was an integrated whole, not isolated facets grouped together. One could see a common denominator through all the aspects of his life. To study any aspect in isolation would be to see him through the wrong end of the telescope.

What the most attractive aspect of his personality was is a question not easy to answer. This would depend largely on the subjective attitude of the person who undertakes the study. Many memorials have been proposed or are being contemplated for Pandit Nehru. Each of them is meant to emphasize that aspect of his personality to which the proposer attaches great importance. There have been proposals to honour Nehru as a literary figure, as a historian, and so on, by instituting chairs in different departments of universities. His love of science, his keen interest in geology and nuclear physics, his passion for planning, his devotion to democracy, his solicitude for socialism, his stature as a parliamentarian, his perennial role of Chacha Nehru to the children of the nation—all these aspects have been played up in the Press and other media. 'A politician without limitations' is how some have attempted to sum up his personality. He has been called 'a bridge between democracy and dictatorship'. Perhaps the best picture of his personality would be conveyed by the phrase, 'A giant's power and a child's heart'.

When one thinks of Nehru, the most striking impression is of his indefatigable energy. One cannot imagine Nehru without that vibrant energy which radiated through his whole being—physical and mental. Nehru's body was a wonder to many physicians until the fatal illness overtook him. His mind, ever alert and supple, with ever-increasing resilience, was a treat to watch, especially when he conducted the deliberations of important conferences, be they national or international. Not a point was missed, not a relevant suggestion went unnoticed and unrecorded. His intolerance of nonsense, his impatience, only reflected his bubbling psychic energy. Dullness of mind is mainly characterized by inexhaustible patience. Patience as a spiritual discipline is something different and is acquired after years of strict practice and dedication.

Nehru's personality was characterized by his single-minded objective of working for the nation, especially for the poor, underdeveloped areas of the country and underdeveloped sections of society. The picture of emaciated men and women in urban

slums and starving millions in the villages did not evoke in Nehru any sentimentality. It set ablaze within him a fire to work more and more for the amelioration of their pitiable lot. The display of prosperity and wealth was to him 'extremely vulgar' in a nation where ninety per cent of the people struggled hard to have two bare meals a day.

When we remember Nehru, we have the image of a great humanist whose vision always soared high, whose outlook always embraced suffering humanity all over the world and who always strove hard, until he completely broke down, for the emancipation of humanity from the bondage of slavery, poverty and starvation. His dream was to bring a gleam of joy into the sad eyes of suffering humanity.

May 1964

CAPTAIN OF THE SHIP

Jayaprakash Narayan

THE TRAGEDY THE NATION had feared these past months has at last overtaken it. The captain of the ship is no more. The leader has left his people desolate and forlorn. It is time for courage, discipline and standing together if we are to be true to the leader and if the nation's ship is to be steered safely in the stormy seas.

May 1964

NOBILITY THAT SPURNED PETTINESS

K. Kamaraj

NEVER, SINCE THE TRAGIC assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, has our country been rocked by a greater calamity than by the demise of our late beloved Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. To those of us who had worked with him and under his direction and guidance for decades, both during the stormy days of the struggle for freedom and later during the reconstruction of our motherland after centuries of neglect by foreigners, the shock was stunning and paralysing. The suddenness has shaken us to our roots and we are too near the event to make a balanced assessment of the magnitude of the loss sustained by the nation.

Even to those who were close to him and worked, suffered and sacrificed along with him, though in a far smaller measure, he was aloof and distant. His towering and dazzling personality instilled in us instinctively and involuntarily awe, respect and adoration. Not that he was not affectionate, gentle or tolerant, forgiving our faults and foibles; not that he was harsh and stern towards his colleagues and comrades; but his intellectual superiority, quick and easy perception of situations, ready wit and nimble alertness invested him with a halo and aura bordering on divinity. And yet he hated deification, sycophancy and petty courtiership, and felt amused by amateurish attempts to flatter him. His manners bore a stamp of nobility, grace and courtesy that endeared him to friends and strangers alike.

As a Congress worker and later as President of the Tamilnadu Provincial Congress Committee, I had come in close contact with him and was always inspired and guided by him. As Chief Minister of Madras, I was in close touch with him as Prime Minister and enjoyed his confidence and trust, guided as I was in my work by his example of hard work, honesty and integrity of purpose. As in organization of party work, so in the matter of carrying on the administration, his guidance and advice were always available to me in abundant and generous measure. There was no problem which we faced or had to face—and there were many problems, tough and almost insoluble—which he did not solve with ease. He was full of understanding and sympathy which were our greatest assets.

Born in affluent circumstances, educated in an aristocratic environment, Nehru could easily have moved into the liberal leadership in the country and held the highest positions open to Indians in those days. But he chose the hard path of suffering, sweat and toil in order to emancipate the masses from poverty, disease, squalor and ignorance. I was greatly attracted by his genuine sympathy and

understanding of the masses and his missionary zeal for the upliftment of the poor. He was deeply moved by the misery of the people and he dedicated his life to the eradication of the scourge that had spread over the centuries. He wanted the humblest in the country to live in comfort and dignity and hated snobbish distinctions based on birth or possessions. It was these qualities that evoked a sympathetic echo in my heart and drew me closer and closer to him politically and personally....

He has left us all as a legacy of inestimable value, his courage to face dangers and difficulties, regardless of the sacrifices involved, his devotion to duty above considerations of personal benefit, convenience and comfort, his nobility that spurned petty intrigues and personal advantages and his integrity in personal and public life, to guide our onward path to progress.

The dream of the transformation of mediaeval India into a modern scientific country, begun under Nehruji's dynamic leadership, remains to be realized. The massive plans he formulated for the country's progress, the vast programmes of industrialization that he initiated, the scientific and technological institutes and national laboratories that were set up during his time, all afford immeasurable opportunities to the people of the country to fulfil our leader's fond hopes. I have every confidence that the country will cherish the memory of Nehruji by accomplishing the unfinished tasks.

May 1964

WORLD-WIDE REPUTATION

John F. Kennedy

AMERICAN LEADERS HAVE HAD their fame and their reputations spread across their national frontiers and boundaries, and the affection in which they are held has become world-wide—Lincoln, Roosevelt, our earlier leaders.

And you and your illustrious leader in the fight for Indian Independence, Mahatma Gandhi, your reputation, the things for which you have stood, things with which you have been identified in your long career, these have spread your fame beyond the border of your country and have been identified with the great aspirations of people all over the world....

We welcome you here to the shores of this country as a friend, as a great world leader, as one who has in his own life at all times stood for those basic aspirations which the United States stands for today.

Welcome Address, Washington D.C.

November 1961

THE WILL TO PEACE

Martin Luther King, Jr

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU was a man of three extraordinary epochs. He was a leader in the long anti-colonial struggle to free his own land and to inspire a fighting will in other lands under bondage.

He lived to see victory and to move then to another epochal confrontation—the fight for peace after the Second World War. In this climactic struggle he did not have Gandhi at his side, but he did have the Indian people, now free in their own great Republic.

It would be hard to overstate Nehru's and India's contributions in this period. It was a time fraught with the constant threat of a devastating finality for mankind. There was no moment in this period free from the peril of atomic war. In these years Nehru was a towering world force skilfully inserting the peace will of India between the raging antagonisms of the Great Powers of East and West.

The world needed a mediator and an 'honest broker' lest, in its sudden acquisition of overwhelming destructive force, one side or the other might plunge the world into mankind's last war. Nehru had the prestige, the wisdom, and the daring to play the role.

The markedly relaxed tensions of today are Nehru's legacy to us, and at the same time they are our monument to him.

It should not be forgotten that the treaty to end nuclear testing accomplished in 1963 was first proposed by Nehru. Let us also remember that the world dissolution of colonialism now speedily unfolding, had its essential origins in India's massive victory. And let it also be remembered that Nehru guided into being the 'Asian-African Bloc' as a united voice for the billions who were groping toward a modern world. He was the architect of the policy of non-alignment or neutralism which was calculated to give independent expression to the emerging nations while enabling them to play a constructive role in world affairs.

The third epoch of Nehru's work is unfolding after his death. Even though his physical presence is gone, his spiritual influence retains a living force. The Great Powers are not yet in harmonious relationship to each other, but with the help of the non-aligned world they have learned to exercise a wise restraint. In this is the basis for a lasting *détente*. Beyond this, Nehru's example in daring to believe and act for peaceful coexistence gives mankind its most glowing hope.

In this period my people, the Negroes of the United States, have made strides

toward freedom beyond all precedent in our history. Our successes directly derive from our employment of the tactics of non-violent direct action and non-cooperation with evil which Nehru effectively employed under Gandhi's inspiration.

The peculiar genius of imperialism was found in its capacity to delude so much of the world into the belief that it was civilizing primitive cultures even though it was grossly exploiting them.

Satyagraha made the myth transparent as it revealed the oppressed to be the truly civilized party. They rejected violence but maintained resistance, while the oppressor knew nothing but the use of violence.

My people found that satyagraha, applied in the United States to our oppressors, also clarified who was right and who was wrong. On this foundation of truth as irresistible, a majority could be organized for just solutions.

Our fight is not yet won, just as the struggle against colonialism is still unfinished, and above all, the achievement of a stable peace still lies ahead of and not behind us.

In all of these struggles of mankind to rise to a true state of civilization, the towering figure of Nehru sits unseen but felt at all council tables. He is missed by the world, and because he is so wanted, he is a living force in the tremulous world of today.

The Legacy of Nehru

1965

DAUNTLESS SPIRIT

Lal Bahadur Shastri

THE SUPREME CAPTAIN has passed away. He gave light to the country and to the world so long as he lived—a rare figure who got the highest recognition as a leader of the people and of the common man.

Throughout the world, his name became a symbol of hope and inspiration for people struggling for freedom.

Jawaharlal, the revolutionary, the statesman, the visionary and the incomparable writer—how many facets there are to his greatness!

India may feel orphaned today. The stars grow dim in our sight and our hearts are weighed down with sorrow. But we have to take courage from the bright and dauntless spirit that was his.... The torch left behind has to be kept burning and the India of his dream built up.

May 1964

REMARKABLE RECORD

Harold J. Laski

I AM VERY GLAD to pay my tribute to Jawaharlal Nehru as one of his English friends. Few things in my life have been more impressive than his emergence from the position of an intermittent political prisoner to that of the Prime Minister of India, with an influence in the Far East so wide, so creative, and so clearly exercised with imagination and responsibility. I do not need to add that this is what everyone who knew him would have expected from their previous knowledge of Mr Nehru. I feel sure that in his hands one can look forward with confidence to the continuance of the remarkable record he has so far achieved.

Nehru Abhinandan Granth

3 March 1949

AGE A MOST MAGNANIMOUS MAN HIS

Earl Mountbatten of Burma

IT WAS A PRIVILEGE to be associated with Jawaharlal Nehru in 1947-8, when I learned to know him, respect him and admire him.

He was one of the greatest figures in history. The world is the poorer for his passing.

He was a most magnanimous man who never showed the slightest personal resentment at being kept for many years in prison by the British. He was a great fighter for Indian national freedom, and when his life's work was crowned with success he was a big enough man to grasp the hand of friendship held out to him by the British.

May 1964

HISTORIC FIGURE OF A STORMY AGE

Gilbert Murray

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU will, without doubt, stand out as one of the great historic figures of this stormy age. In succession to my deeply revered friend, Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru has, with indomitable fortitude, high moral and intellectual integrity, and a remarkable mastery of the cultures of both East and West, pursued and achieved successfully the great aim of his own life and his country's aspiration. India has no longer anything to claim in the way of freedom. The problems of that struggle are over; those which she has now to face are no less hard, but quite different. She is now a Great Power and has the responsibilities of a Great Power, concerned not merely with its independence or its national interests, but with its share in the wise direction of world affairs....

It is a great thing that in the present critical period India is led by one who, while he well understands the psychology of resistance and rebellion, has also the experience and intellectual power of a wise and responsible statesman. May Pandit Nehru long be spared to lead India towards her due position in the world as one of the chief pillars of peace and law.

Nehru Abhinandan Granth

18 February 1949

Harold J. Laski

I AM VERY GLAD to pay my tribute to Jawaharlal Nehru as one of his English friends. Few things in my life have been more impressive than his emergence from the position of an intermittent political prisoner to that of the Prime Minister of India, with an influence in the Far East so wide, so creative, and so clearly exercised with imagination and responsibility. I do not need to add that this is what everyone who knew him would have expected from their previous knowledge of Mr. Nehru. I feel sure that in his hands our race looks forward with confidence to the continuance of the remarkable record he has so far achieved.

Nehru Abhinandan Granth

3 March 1949

INCORRUPTIBLE SINCERITY

Sarojini Naidu

AS I WATCHED YOUR FACE while you were being given the rousing ovation on your election, I felt I was witnessing both your Coronation and Crucifixion—indeed the two are inseparable and almost synonymous in some circumstances and some situations: they are synonyms today especially for you, because you are so sensitive and so fastidious in your spiritual response and reaction and you will suffer a hundredfold more poignantly than men and women of less fine fibre and less vivid perception and apprehension, in dealing with the ugliness of weakness, falsehood, backsliding, betrayal... all the inevitable attributes of weakness that seeks to hide its poverty by aggressive and bombastic sound.... However, I have an abiding faith in your incorruptible sincerity and passion for liberty and though you said to me that you felt you had neither the personal strength nor a sufficient backing to put your own ideas and ideals into effect under the turmoils of so burdensome an office, I feel that you have been given a challenge as well as offered a tribute: and it is the challenge that will transmute and transfigure all your noblest qualities into dynamic force, courage and vision and wisdom. I have no fear in my faith.

Extract from letter to Jawaharlal Nehru
on his being elected President of the Indian National Congress
29 September 1929

THE TORCH OF FREEDOM

Gulzari Lal Nanda

ONE OF THE GREATEST SONS of India has passed away. A life of the rarest nobility and dedication has suddenly come to an end. This is not the end of an individual life only but of an era in the life of this nation. The effulgence of this era will continue to light the path of many a generation to come. For seventeen long years, Jawaharlal Nehru held aloft the torch of India's freedom, giving every day and hour of his life completely to the service of India and of humanity. These years in the life of the nation have borne the stamp of his great and glorious personality. His greatness and glory will live for ever.

He leaves a void which can never be filled.

Jawaharlalji's life was one of unique and unparalleled service. We of this generation who received so much from him can serve by serving the ideals for which he laboured to the very end. Through India he served humanity and to him India's problems and aspirations were part of mankind's struggle for freedom, for peace, for social justice, for human values and the dignity of man.

He held aloft the torch of freedom given to him by the Father of the Nation. He gave new content and direction to the national purpose, pursuing through every storm and stress the truth which Gandhiji had taught, that right means shall triumph to the very end.

No words of appreciation, no tribute that we can pay, can do justice to Jawaharlalji, to all that he was, to all that he did during his lifetime. He filled the whole horizon of India for so many years that to be without him is to feel a sense of bewilderment. For him, national freedom and independence were a fragment of a larger vision for the future, and so this great leader of our days of the Freedom Struggle became the great architect of free India.

He moulded India's thoughts and aspirations and symbolized the heart of the country, the heart of the millions of India. In his person, he embodied their ideals, their yearnings and struggles. He gave them faith and strength and lighted new paths.

He has left us a noble heritage, which has no parallel. He spent himself in the service of India and of all humanity and his life itself holds a precious and enduring message for many a generation to come. I hope and pray that we of this generation to whom he gave all that was humanly possible, will prove worthy of the heritage and the ideals he has bequeathed to us.

May 1964

WHERE TWO WORLDS MEET

Gamal Abdel Nasser

TO WRITE ON JAWAHARLAL NEHRU is a source of great joy to one who does it. It provides him with an opportunity to contemplate on a life which in its length—seventy years—has not reached the same extent as it has in its depth and breadth.

Jawaharlal Nehru's life, in its various aspects, has indeed been a full and rich one.

In its depth, it has reached the limit where he has been able, through the residue of centuries and the vicissitudes of history, to touch upon the very soul of India.

In its breadth, it has been able, despite colonialism and its legacies, to respond to his closer world—Asia and Africa—and to show moreover a comprehensive understanding of the other peoples who live beyond Asia and Africa.

I have had many an opportunity of meeting Jawaharlal Nehru. Regardless of the friendship which it was my good fortune to forge with him and whose threads are now closely knit, any meeting I have had with him was a great and productive adventure.

Our first long meeting was on board a steamer on the Nile. Mostly we talked about planning. Nehru's understanding of the subject and the role which planning played in modern times reflected a genuine consciousness on his part of the nature of the delicate and intricate phase through which the nations of Asia and Africa were passing. He believed that their peoples who had been compelled, under the influence of many historical forces and circumstances, to remain backward in comparison with others and were later touched by the influence of the great revolutionary awakening which pushed them forward towards emancipation, have no other course open to them, in order to catch up with those who had gone ahead, but to 'plan' their path. To them planning is not a means; it is a necessity.

Nor is the purpose of planning merely to accumulate figures about production. The training of human beings is the most important part of it. I remember Nehru's words to me at that time: 'Remember, the future of any country is closely bound up with the type of people who live in that country.'

On one occasion, I had the opportunity of attending a meeting addressed by Nehru at a mass rally which was held in the spacious Ram Lila grounds in Delhi. The masses who had waited to hear Nehru's speech were composed of a heterogeneous group of people: young men and young women, squatting on the ground along with children on the threshold of life; close to them sat elderly men, advanced in age, almost on the threshold of the other world. To this mixed gathering, Nehru began to talk.

I know how easy it is always for a speaker who wishes to keep his audience

spellbound to stir up their emotions; but Nehru did nothing of the kind. His voice never rose. He never got into a passion. Nor did the enthusiasm of his audience run high or their feelings get stirred up. They merely listened to what he said, albeit eagerly. At times they would all laugh, both men and women, children as well as the aged.

Despite their diverse nature, they all understood what this man said, this man who had spent the years of his youth in the remote universities of the West and yet had never detached himself from his people until destiny placed upon his shoulders the task of leading them during an important transitory period through which their country was passing.

I was sitting on the dais behind Nehru trying to grasp the significance of the occasion. I did not understand the language he spoke, but I could see that his thoughts and words had a great reaction on the heterogeneous masses who listened to him. I pondered over his words about Gandhi, whom he had described as one of those leaders who had gone into history not because they brought new things to their people but because they could fathom their innermost recesses and bring up what was there to the surface, clean it and brighten it by removing the moss that enveloped it.

As I sat on the dais behind Nehru watching him speak to his people, I was moved and felt how much what he said about Gandhi applied to himself.

The truth is Nehru is not only the exponent of the dreams deeply nestled in the hearts of the people of India. He is also the expression of human conscience itself, particularly for people who lived more or less through the same experiences and faced the same problems as the Indians did.

If Nehru has interpreted, and indeed interpreted well, the urges and aspirations of his people as well as those of Asia and Africa, he has also made another contribution no less significant.

He has also interpreted, both to his people as well as to the peoples of Asia and Africa, the dreams and aspirations of other peoples in the rest of the world.

Those who had the opportunity of attending the meetings of the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung will realize the full meaning of what I say. At the meetings of the Political Committee of the Conference, which may be regarded as a turning point in our history, Jawaharlal Nehru, the man who never forgets to give that touch of beauty which lies in the rose that always rests in his buttonhole, gave to it many a beautiful touch of thought and ideal, understanding and experience, art and culture, even of philosophy and history.

He interpreted others to Asia and Africa, and interpreted Asia and Africa to others. He was the finest example of mutual interpretation that I have seen.

They say a real artist never gets lost in his art or thought. As a matter of fact, Nehru is as much capable of action, of fighting for his thoughts and ideals as he is of expressing them.

Talking of my association with him, I shall always remember the message which

I received from him at the time of the British–French–Israeli aggression on Egypt, in which he said:

If colonialism succeeds in coming back to Egypt, it will reverse the entire course of history and return to every other country from which it had been forced to go. Therefore, colonialism should not be allowed to succeed in Egypt. Otherwise, it will signal a new and long fight for the whole of Asia and Africa.

What a quick comprehension of a complicated situation! And with what scintillating and brave words he conveyed it! It gave us courage and stirred us to fight back.

A Study of Nehru
1959

Mr. Nehru's study of the life of the late Mahatma is a masterpiece of scholarship and insight. It is a book that every student of Indian history and politics should read. The author's knowledge of the subject is profound and his writing is clear and concise. He has been able to bring together a vast amount of material and present it in a way that is both interesting and informative. The book is a valuable contribution to the study of the Mahatma and his role in the Indian independence movement. It is a book that should be read by all who are interested in the history of India and the world.

Jawaharlal's genius has many facets. His writings hold a high place in the world's literature. His study of modern philosophy is profound and extensive. So are his

DEFENDER OF THE DIGNITY OF MAN

Kwame Nkrumah

I RECEIVED WITH profound distress the news of the sudden death of Prime Minister Nehru of India. I feel a sense of personal loss in the death of Mr Nehru, and I am sure that this is shared by all in Ghana as well as millions in other parts of Africa and Asia. Rarely have the qualities of wisdom, courage, humanity and great learning found such perfect fusion and expression in one individual as they did in Pandit Nehru. Soft of speech but forthright in expression, his voice was heard in all parts of the world in defence of freedom and the dignity of man. He will long be remembered for his championship of the Afro-Asian cause and his support for the ideals of freedom, unity and world peace. As a loyal apostle of Gandhi, Mr Nehru showed wisdom and determination in carrying forward the great mission of welding the people of India into a united and progressive nation. His preoccupation with the many problems of India did not prevent him from making the problems of other people his concern. His sympathy and understanding of the problems of Africa were a great source of encouragement to all who have been engaged in the struggle for the liberation and unity of Africa. I recall the many occasions when I met Mr Nehru at Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conferences, at the United Nations, and during my visit to India in 1959. On all these occasions, his vision and his profound understanding of our common problems and of major issues of the world made a great impression upon me. By Mr Nehru's death the Commonwealth has lost a Prime Minister of outstanding courage and calibre. The people of India have lost a great and illustrious leader, and the world an eminent statesman.

May 1964

LIVING IMAGE OF ENERGY

Govind Ballabh Pant

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU is sixty. And yet the mind refuses to accept the fact; this ideal of the country's youth has always been honoured as young himself. This living image of energy and activity has made a deep impression on the youth of India. Having given the best years of his life to the cause of the country's freedom, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has become its symbol. With the attainment of freedom the reins of Government have fallen into his hands. The young rebel of yesterday has today become the crown jewel of India and the country's first Prime Minister. The ability, patience and deep humanity with which he has guided India's ship of state through such stormy seas have received high praise even from foreigners. By his brilliant statesmanship he has given a new dignity to the high office he holds. He is an embodiment of the ideals of world brotherhood, tolerance, truth and justice.

It is my good fortune to have been Jawaharlalji's colleague for many years. We were together in gaol more than once. The more I have known him, the deeper have my affection and admiration for him grown. The nearer one comes to his stupendous personality the more deeply is one impressed by his greatness. His vast learning, indomitable courage, high devotion to duty, unparalleled sacrifice, abounding energy and sober statesmanship are well known and universally respected. But the quality that endears him to me more than his learning is his large-heartedness. Such sensitiveness as his, comprising tolerance and kindness, is a quality rarely seen. Those who have seen him in a temper on the public stage can hardly conceive of the innate humility and deep human sympathy he possesses.

Jawaharlal is artistic by nature. This is seen in every feature, from the most insignificant gestures to the most important and considered actions. He believes in doing everything gracefully and whole-heartedly; that is for him a criterion of right action. He is not satisfied with using the noblest means only for the highest ends. He aspires for perfection in everything, from cleanliness in the house to the most important tasks of the nation and society, and always lays the greatest emphasis on purity and sincerity. Those who have worked with him know very well how ready Jawaharlalji is to see the other man's point of view. Even in the most critical situation he does not for a moment compromise with ideals and always acts with a courage that amazes his followers.

Jawaharlal's genius has many facets. His writings hold a high place in the world's literature. His study of modern philosophy is profound and extensive. So are his

acquaintance and understanding of world affairs. Even in the midst of his preoccupations he keeps himself well posted with the latest developments in modern science. Art, literature and poetry are not neglected. Though in the midst of vast problems of high policy, he is still full of energy and irrepressible wilfulness of spirit, as he was in younger years. Yogic exercises and riding, mountaineering, swimming, skating and skiing are his favourite pastimes and they keep him in good health and spirit at sixty. He has a strictly disciplined life, distinguished by the most scrupulous attention to detail.

It is the nation's great good fortune that it is led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He is the personification of our hopes and aspirations. Today the world knows India because of Nehru. His success is our glory, and his strength our greatness. May he live long, to strive for the peace of the world and the prosperity of India.

Translated from the Hindi
Nehru Abhinandan Granth
25 August 1949

LEADER OF OUR LEGIONS

Vallabhbhai Patel

JAWAHARLAL and I have been fellow-members of the Congress, soldiers in the struggle for freedom, colleagues in the Congress Working Committee and other bodies of the Congress, devoted followers of the Great Master who has unhappily left us to battle with grave problems without his guidance, and co-sharers in the great and onerous burden of administration of this vast country. Having known each other in such intimate and varied fields of activity we have naturally grown fond of each other; our mutual affection has increased as years have advanced, and it is difficult for people to imagine how much we miss each other when we are apart and unable to take counsel together in order to resolve our problems and difficulties. This familiarity, nearness, intimacy and brotherly affection make it difficult for me to sum him up for public appreciation, but, then, the idol of the nation, the leader of the people, the Prime Minister of the country, and the hero of the masses, whose noble record and great achievements are an open book, hardly needs any commendation from me.

A clean and resolute fighter, he always fought hard and straight against the foreign government. Having received the baptism of fire in his early thirties as an organizer of the peasants' movement in the U.P., he imbibed to the full the knowledge of the art and science of non-violent warfare. His ardent emotionalism and his hatred of injustice and oppression converted him into a crusader in the war against poverty, and with an instinctive sympathy for the poor he threw himself heart and soul into the struggle for the amelioration of the lot of the peasantry. His sphere of activities widened, and he soon blossomed forth into a silent organizer of the great institution to which we all dedicated ourselves as an instrument of our emancipation. Gifted with idealism of a high order, a devotee of beauty and art in life, and equipped with an infinite capacity to magnetize and inspire others and a personality which would be remarkable in any gathering of the world's foremost men, Jawaharlal has gone from strength to strength as a political leader. His trip to foreign countries, necessitated by the ailment of his wife, raised his conception of Indian nationalism to an ethereal international plane. That was the beginning of that international phase of his life and character which has throughout been noticeable in his approach to internal and world problems. Ever since, Jawaharlal has never looked back. He has grown in stature both in India and abroad. The sincerity of his convictions, the breadth of his outlook, the clarity of his vision, and the purity of his emotions—all these have brought to him the homage of millions in this country and outside.

It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that in the twilight preceding the dawn of independence he should have been our leading light, and that when India was faced with crisis after crisis, following the achievement of our freedom, he should have been the upholder of our faith and the leader of our legions. No one knows better than myself how much he has laboured for his country in the last two years of our difficult existence. I have seen him age quickly during that period, on account of the worries of the high office that he holds and the tremendous responsibilities that he wields. He has never spared himself in the cause of the refugees who have seldom knocked at his door without redress. In the councils of the Commonwealth his has been a most notable contribution; on the world's stage he has played a very remarkable part. Yet, with all this he has maintained that original youthful look, that balanced poise, that sense of perspective and that sang-froid and *bonhomie* which are the results of a disciplined philosophy and trained intellect.

It is obviously impossible to do justice to his great and pre-eminent personality in these few considered words. The versatility of his character and attainments at once defy delineation. His thoughts have sometimes a depth which it is not easy to fathom, but underlying them all is a transparent sincerity and a robustness of youth which endear him to every one without distinction of caste and creed, race or religion.

It is to this priceless possession of a free India that we pay homage today on the occasion of the diamond jubilee of his birth. May he secure greater and greater triumphs in the cause of his country and in the pursuit of his ideals!

Nehru Abhinandan Granth

14 October 1949

A GREAT EMANCIPATOR

S. Radhakrishnan

IN A MOMENT SO CHARGED with emotion, I do not wish to say much, nor is there any need for it. It is an occasion when every one of us, man, woman and child would wish to keep our thoughts to ourselves and render, in a mood of reverence, grateful homage to a life of great service, devotion and dedication.

Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the greatest figures of our generation, an outstanding statesman whose services to the cause of human freedom are unforgettable. As a fighter for freedom he was illustrious, as a maker of modern India his services were unparalleled. His life and work have had a profound influence on our mental make-up, social structure and intellectual development. It will be difficult to reconcile ourselves to the image of India without Nehru's active and all-pervasive leadership. An epoch in our country's history has come to a close.

As a man Nehru combined a fine sensitivity of mind, a rare delicacy of feeling, with large and generous impulses. To the weak and the frustrated his heart went out in profound sympathy. He was an author of distinction. His *Autobiography*, which tells the story of his life and struggle without a touch of self-pity or moral superiority, is one of the most remarkable books of our time.

Nehru held the office of the Prime Minister of our country ever since the dawn of Independence; and in the long years of his premiership he tried to put our country on a progressive, scientific, dynamic and non-communal basis. His steadfast loyalty to certain fundamental principles of liberalism gave direction to our thought and life. We can understand the endless surprises of his attitudes and actions; all these fall into place if we remember his faith in democracy and freedom. He used the existing social and political institutions and breathed into them a new spirit, a new vitality.

Nehru, by his series of public utterances, educated our people to an appreciation of the values he had cherished. He fought for a high level of human life and burnt his ideals into the understanding of the common people. By his own powerful and vibrant voice, which we will not hear any more, he created, moulded, inspired and kindled a whole generation of Indians to a loyalty to the first principles which he held so dear.

It is not enough to have great ideals; we have to work for their achievement. Time is the essence of the situation, and Nehru had a great regard for the sanctity of time. The pitiless exactions of time take no denial, and so the great leader has fallen.

Though nurtured in a life of sheltered ease and comfort, he threw himself into the National Struggle and became a great leader second only to Gandhi. The part that he

played in the National Struggle and in the final settlement of the Indian question in 1947 are part of recent Indian history.

Nehru realized, even before the advent of freedom, that our economic regeneration, our progressive modern lives, cannot be achieved unless there is concerted planning. After the Transfer of Power, as the Chairman of the Planning Commission, it was he who gave dynamism and power to the various plans which are now being implemented.

The path of Nehru as a nation-builder in the early years of India's freedom was beset with fantastic difficulties and formidable challenges. The partition of the country, resulting in the exodus of millions of people from one part of the subcontinent to the other amidst scenes of appalling riots, loot and arson, brought in its wake problems—political and economic—which defied easy solution. We have outbreaks of communal violence here and there in our country even now. This must have seemed to Nehru a terrific disillusionment of his great work, inherited from Gandhi and developed by himself.

Nehru always had a conviction that India could not be viewed in isolation from other states of the world. Even before the advent of freedom, he was pleading that the Indian question was a part of the large movement of the oppressed people fighting against colonialism. He had a love of liberty, not merely for his own people, but for all people of the world. He therefore expressed sympathy and support for all liberation movements in Africa, Asia and South America.

He believed in the liberty of all without distinction of class, creed or country.

Nehru was a great believer in world peace and the concept of one world community. No one had shown greater faith and allegiance to the Charter of the United Nations than Nehru. He realized that in a thermonuclear age, war would mean the extinction of all civilized values. That is why he was convinced that the true role of a statesman in this distracted world lay in the way of lessening tensions and conflicts and bringing about a climate of understanding and mutual accommodation, with a view to settlement of international differences without resort to the horrors of war. On several international questions such as Korea, Laos, the Congo and Vietnam, his was the voice of peace and friendship, and his voice was always heard with respect.

His courage, wisdom and personality have held this country together. It is these qualities which should be cherished if we are to hold on. Our thoughts today go out to him as a great emancipator of the human race, one who gave all his life and energy to the freeing of men's minds from political bondage, economic slavery, social oppression and cultural stagnation.

Those of us who are left behind to mourn his loss could do no better than work for the ideals he cherished. That is the best tribute we can pay to our departed leader.

Message to the nation
on the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru
May 1964

MOST CIVILIZED PERSON

C. Rajagopalachari

ELEVEN YEARS YOUNGER than I, eleven times more important for the nation, and eleven hundred times more beloved of the nation, Shri Nehru has suddenly departed from our midst and I remain alive to hear the sad news from Delhi—and bear the shock. Shri Nehru was ill and we knew it was a serious form of illness, but we did not imagine he would be snatched away so unceremoniously and so swiftly. The old guard-room is completely empty now.

I am unable yet to gather my wits. I have been fighting Nehru all these ten years over what I consider faults in public policies. But I knew all along that he alone could get them corrected. No one else would dare do it, and he is gone, leaving me weaker than before in my fight. But fighting apart, a beloved friend is gone, the most civilized person among us all. Not many among us are civilized yet.

God save our people

May 1964

HIS SPIRITUAL STRAIN

Rajendra Prasad

THE HISTORY OF INDIA of the last forty years is inextricably wound up with the life story of Jawaharlal Nehru....

Jawaharlal Nehru drew inspiration and guidance from Mahatma Gandhi, but it is not as if he was a dumb follower. On many an occasion he differed and made his own substantial contribution to the making up of the programme which Mahatma Gandhi followed. Those who are familiar with the history of the Indian National Congress know how on many occasions he was able to give an important turn to Congress policies. It was not without reason therefore that Mahatma Gandhi named him his successor, knowing full well that while Jawaharlal differed from him in some important respects, he was firmly fixed in the most fundamental elements of his thoughts and ideas.*

Since Independence, which unfortunately coincided with Gandhiji's disappearance from the scene, Jawaharlal has played a most important role in framing the internal as well as external policies of the country. In fact, except in one respect, namely the integration of the princely States, his has been an almost exclusive role both in framing and executing the national programme. He, more than anyone else, has been responsible for planning and making the country plan-minded.

In the domain of foreign policy, Jawaharlal has evolved from India's age-old principles of non-violence and tolerance, the theory of Panchsheel, which has been accepted by many countries of the world, big and small. It is idle to speculate on what Mahatma Gandhi would have done with the armed forces of his country if he had lived to carry further his own ideals. It redounds to Jawaharlal's credit that he has managed to reconcile idealism with the realistic demands of the situation. It is no small matter to get the principle of peaceful coexistence accepted even while large armed forces are maintained. Undoubtedly the tremendous progress of science and technology has made it possible, if not necessary, even for big Powers to think in terms of coexistence by presenting them with the inescapable choice between coexistence and non-existence.

Jawaharlal is essentially a man of science and technology, with undoubted faith in their progress and achievements. All the same, at the back of it all, there is in him a spiritual strain which is marked. While placing full reliance on the development of science and harnessing scientific knowledge for the eradication of misery and poverty, he is conscious of the limitations of such material progress without submission to some kind of spiritual principle.

[Jawaharlal is a man of culture in the widest and best sense of the expression.] He is a man with ideas born of the study of books and widespread contact with men, Indian and foreign. His emotional nature and his innate independence of thought have helped him in developing a style of expression which is direct and captivating. [He is a gifted writer, wielding the pen as an artist.]

He is a man of ideals aiming principally at raising that part of humanity, in particular, which inhabits India. He is a man of independence of thought and action, and he is not afraid to express himself. He is a man of determination. When he has once set his heart on a particular objective, he will work for it for all he is worth and will not count any sacrifice too great for it.

Above all, he is human. It is this milk of human kindness which underlies and inspires all his work in connection with, and for the furtherance of, his social programme. The dominant idea underlying such a programme is genuine and real sympathy for the underdog. While this natural humaneness inheres all his noble efforts, he is also subject to some of the nobler failings and weaknesses natural to it. He is loyal—loyal not only to ideals but also to individuals.

All in all, here is a man the likes of whom treads this earth but rarely and only in a crisis. He has been born and has lived in a critical period in India's history, and has played his part nobly and well....

From the Foreword to

A Study of Nehru

1959

AT HOME EVERYWHERE

B. C. Roy

JAWAHARLAL IS A MAN OF DESTINY, but he is lonely even in the midst of crowds who deeply love him but do not always understand him. This is so because Jawaharlal is different from others. Though trained in the West, he does not belong to the old world of Europe—as some ungenerous critics seem to think—but his is the voice of the still older world of India and Asia; a voice which belongs to the ancient civilization of the East—very distinctive and very vital, but which has renewed itself from the experiences of contact with other countries in the present times. That is why it is a voice which has deep roots in the past and still has the dynamic urges of both today and tomorrow.

Jawaharlal's is a difficult personality to understand especially for those who have not known him well. Sometimes such people may differ from him until they meet him, but they invariably agree with him once they talk to him. The secret is that he tries to understand their viewpoint as much as he persuades them to understand his. Jawaharlal's approach to every problem is broadly human and based on truth and tolerance. When you leave him you come out with a feeling that you have scored most of your points, but in reality he knows that he too has not lost any of his own. He is accommodating yet uncompromising—truly as Motilal had said of him even as far back as in 1920, 'I would neither wish nor expect him to yield on a question of principle.'

I am often asked by younger people—and also as a medical man, 'What is the secret of Jawaharlal's eternal youth, his ever joyous mood, and his alert, clear and analytical mind?'

It is difficult to answer this question but I have a feeling that it is Jawaharlal's wonderful capacity to adjust himself to every environment. When he is with little children, he is one of them. He tickles them, plays with them and talks to them in their language and of things which they love and can understand. When with young people he shakes off fifty years of his age and is full of energy—he would scale barriers, even climb lamp-posts, run and jump and skip with them and give such a hearty laugh that he becomes one of them. With the tribal people he would don their fancy costumes and even join in their dances. When addressing the masses he would speak to them of their problems in an easy, conversational style and carry every one of them with him. With diplomats he discusses serious world problems, with politicians matters of politics, with scientists the latest researches and discoveries, with industrialists modern

production methods and with women even housekeeping. He is at home in every place at all times. Incidentally, while talking to doctors he always says he understands very little of drugs, herbs and pills, for he seldom takes any medicine. Jawaharlal is free from the strain of meeting people and at all times he is happy and relaxed. He radiates youth and joyousness, which he carries with him wherever he goes, and infects others with them. That is why Tagore once said that Nehru is 'a person greater than his deeds and truer than his surroundings'.

A Study of Nehru
1959

CONTRIBUTION TO NEW HUMANITY

Bertrand Russell

NEHRU WAS A MAN of rare dedication who devoted himself to his country from the time of his earliest years. It is not often appreciated that through the long years of struggle which occupied the greater part of his life he had to live under the shadow of potential imprisonment or brutality. Westerners are not sufficiently aware that Mr Nehru spent fourteen years in prison because of his passionate belief in the emancipation of his country from the indignity of foreign subjection and of poverty, ignorance and disease. Fourteen years is an inconceivable time to be separated from one's family and friends when it is, as it were, in one's own hands to secure release by abandoning the struggle under the pretext of conducting it in a milder manner. During the years that I was President of the India League in London, I knew of the invaluable leadership and direction which Jawaharlal Nehru gave to India.

• [In the years subsequent to Independence it was an astonishing thing that Nehru was without the faintest suggestion of bitterness toward the nation which subjected his country and imprisoned him.] It is a great tribute to him that he insisted that India should be non-aligned in the insane struggle for power which has preoccupied the United States and the Soviet Union at the expense of the welfare of mankind. Faced with overwhelming difficulties and pressures, Mr Nehru insisted upon the role of mediator where he could have secured financial and military aid from whichever side he might have chosen to use. This decision was responsible for the possibility of a third force of neutral and non-aligned nations, and as such may be a decisive factor in the survival of humanity. Had India foregone non-alignment, it is seriously doubtful that other nations could have maintained it, and the areas of conflict would be many more and the sources of mediation non-existent.*

There is a further achievement of the utmost importance which is not sufficiently appreciated. [Every conceivable argument has been available to tempt Mr Nehru to forego democratic institutions in India. Illiteracy and poverty, disease and ignorance, a great subcontinent to govern, severe differences between Muslim and Hindu, many scores of languages and varied cultures reflecting a tendency toward a breaking-up of the Union—all of these serious political facts could have induced him to say that they were too difficult to permit the rule of democracy with its instability.

Had Nehru made this decision, it is doubtful that the rule of law or of representative institutions would have any chance among the emergent nations. To the extent that they do is the achievement of Nehru.] Had this decision been made, the

varied and rich Indian culture would be subjected to uniform control in the name of security and political unity.

Nehru himself was responsible for an understanding of the magnitude of the contribution made to human knowledge by India and her peoples. His writing has been a primary source of knowledge for the peoples of other countries.

I do not think that the ease with which he might have taken more tempting paths is understood. I do not believe his greatness is fully appreciated, but I have every confidence that if mankind is allowed to survive he will be recognized in a manner adequate to his stature....

The Legacy of Nehru
1965

KING WITH THE COMMON TOUCH

Adlai E. Stevenson

WE LIVE IN AN AGE swept by tides of history so powerful that they shatter human understanding. Only a tiny handful of men have influenced the implacable forces of our time. To this small company of the truly great, Nehru belongs.

'The nation is safe in his hands.' Those were Mahatma Gandhi's concluding words when he publicly chose Pandit Nehru as his heir and successor—because of his bravery, his prudence and discipline, his vision and practicality, his humility and purity.

A quarter of his life he has spent in prison for the same cause our own revolutionary ancestors in America pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honour—freedom. Born to exalted station, he knows the 'art of being a king', yet he has a common touch that excites the devotion and understanding of all kinds and conditions of people, and he has a pen and tongue that stir the hearts of hundreds of millions.

A man in public office can find no surer guide than Nehru. Personal integrity, love of country, lofty idealism, faith in the people and a passion to serve them well, far-ranging vision, these are the qualities by which he commands our respect.

From Address at Illinois
1949

ON READING 'AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY'

Rabindranath Tagore

Shantiniketan

May 31, 1936

Dear Jawaharlal

I have just finished reading your great book and I feel intensely impressed and proud of your achievement. Through all its details there runs a deep current of humanity which overpasses the tangles of facts and leads us to the person who is greater than his deeds and truer than his surroundings.)

Yours very sincerely,
Rabindranath Tagore

AN UNDERSTANDING OF HISTORY

U Thant

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU, in my view, was one of the most perceptive analysts of the threads of human history, and he was a great leader of men because he understood the trends of human history. He was not only a great man, but a good man. His extraordinary qualities endeared him not only to the people of India but to people all over the world who had at heart peace, justice and equality for mankind. I think one of the reasons for his greatness was his understanding of the human situation in the shadow of the hydrogen bomb. He was one of the greatest torch-bearers of new concepts, new approaches, and new attitudes toward new problems. He realized more than anybody else, that old concepts, old approaches, and even old philosophies, if I may say so, were facing a completely new set of circumstances. Pandit Nehru therefore tried to lead humanity from these age-old concepts and age-old approaches to the new concepts and new approaches and new philosophies, to be in tune with the needs and circumstances of our times. He was endowed with a very sharp intellect, a quality which is highly prized in Western societies. At the same time he was endowed with much wisdom and great moral virtues, qualities which are esteemed in the East, our own part of the world. But his greatness lay in the fact that he was so adaptable, and he was so capable of adjusting himself to new environments and new conditions that he was a tower of strength both in regard to intellectual and moral values.

In the West, if I am correct in my reading of Western concepts, the stress is on the intellectual development of man. In the East, traditionally, the concept of education is different. There we try to develop the moral and spiritual qualities of men. My feeling is that a purely intellectual development unaccompanied by corresponding moral and spiritual development is sure to lead humanity from one crisis to another, while a purely moral and spiritual development without a corresponding intellectual development is an anachronism. Pandit Nehru realized this basic fact. If I am to point to a great man, a great leader of men, who understood this trend of history, who understood the need to harmonize the intellectual qualities of men with the moral and spiritual qualities of men, it was Pandit Nehru.

The Legacy of Nehru
1965

A FIGHTER FOR PEACE

Josip Broz Tito

THE PERSONALITY OF Jawaharlal Nehru and his activity as a political worker and statesman during the period between the two world wars, the Second World War and the years following it, were already known to me when I met him at the end of 1954. Therefore, my first personal contact with him seemed to me like a meeting with a man to whom I had been linked with bonds of long-standing personal acquaintance. There is no doubt that the fact that I also got to know him and his activity through his written works greatly contributed to such a feeling. I have always considered him, side by side with Gandhi, the most important person in the struggle for India's independence and her significant and beneficial performance in international life. I highly esteem particularly his great role in the struggle for peace. My opinion was fully confirmed by the impressions I gained during my two visits to his great country and in the course of our other meetings.

Since our first meeting in New Delhi in December 1954, I have had the opportunity to meet Nehru several times on different occasions in India and Yugoslavia, and to exchange with him views both directly and through correspondence on a number of current problems relating to international policy and the relations between our two countries. I became convinced, through these contacts and exchanges of views, that he is a great man sincerely devoted to the welfare of his nation and the cause of peace, international understanding and co-operation. It was very easy for us to find a common language during our talks, since the aspirations and the policies of our peoples were in conformity. So were our views on international issues and this found its full expression in more than one document, out of which I would particularly point out the New Delhi Declaration issued on 22 December 1954 and our joint statement with President Nasser, signed at Brioni on 19 July 1956.

The greatness of a man and a political leader is reflected, above all, in his ability to symbolize the positive strivings of his people for freedom, prosperity and peace—the fundamental values of contemporary society. In my opinion, precisely in this lies the greatness of Nehru, who made a tremendous contribution to the struggle of the people of India for their independence and for the achievement of the unity of the Indian nation. He, also, initiated and became the directing soul of India's economic and social development, under her specific conditions, towards progress and socialism, and the champion of a consistent policy of peace and coexistence in the international field. It is because of this that I especially esteem Nehru as a person who has

succeeded in rallying around himself the majority of the great Indian nation on the policy of internal progress, and as a fighter for peace and a peaceful international policy.

Whenever I met Nehru, I was strongly impressed by the strength of his character, the vivacity of his spirit, his great energy, his insight into approaching problems, his attractive manner and directness in personal contacts. I saw in him a brave man who boldly faces the realities of life and is not daunted by difficulties, a man who does not indulge in illusions or has a dogmatic approach to problems, but is ready, boldly and realistically, to tackle and overcome difficulties. I was also greatly impressed by his love of nature, his humanism and his devotion to his family.

I had also an opportunity to see Nehru engaged in political action in his own country, at the annual conference of the Congress at Avadi, in January 1955, when he heralded the new programme of India's development after a socialist pattern of society. I know this to be the result of Nehru's long years of effort and he could rightly be satisfied with it. On that occasion I was convinced that among the great mass of delegates and people who were assembled, he enjoyed unchallenged authority and deep loyalty, which makes it possible for him to play, under the difficult and complex conditions of the struggle for the development of his country and for the safeguarding of peace, such an important role which transcends far beyond the frontiers of his great country.

India can be proud of having such an outstanding leader, who, through his efforts and far-sightedness, is paving the way towards a better future for India, and who, through his untiring activity in the struggle for peace, devotion to the policy of coexistence and the strengthening of peaceful international co-operation, has become one of the most outstanding statesmen of the contemporary world.

A Study of Nehru
1959

A REDEEMER OF POLITICS

Arnold Toynbee

I DID NOT KNOW NEHRU at all intimately; in fact, I did not even meet him many times. But his personality made an immediate impression at one's first meeting with him, and this impression did not change over the years. Nor was the effect he made just an impression; the word is too weak and too cold. 'Captivation' comes nearer to the truth. Here was a human being who could win one's heart and keep it.

This would be something remarkable in anyone in any walk of life, but in someone whose position was humble and obscure it might not be so surprising as it was in a world-famous statesman who has left a deep mark, and this, on the whole world and not just on his own country. In this great statesman, the lovable human being was not smothered by the eminent public figure. I should say that, in Nehru, there was not even the faintest touch of pomposity or self-importance or self-consciousness. He retained the spontaneity and the buoyancy of youth after he had been carrying for years an unusually heavy burden of office....

It seems certain that, for ages to come, Nehru will be remembered as a historic figure, but what is the future picture of him going to be? The lovable human being whom his intimate friends knew much better than I did—made his impression on one through one's meeting him in the flesh. At second or seventieth hand, this vivid personal impression will be dimmed, at best, and in time may be almost effaced.

Will Nehru be remembered as a great statesman? Unquestionably he was that. But I have suggested, and here I believe I am right, that his eminence in public affairs was not the distinctive thing about him. One must be thankful when a noble soul takes on itself the burden of political leadership, for politics are always in need of redeeming. They are a backward field of human activity in which our average standard of behaviour is decidedly lower than it is in family life or in our professional vocations. A noble soul goes into politics at its peril, for politics are as difficult to redeem as they are in need of redemption. Politics are intractable. They cannot be redeemed in one short lifetime, even by one of those rare spirits that combine high idealism with practical genius. The noblest-minded statesman cannot altogether escape becoming a bondsman of his imperious circumstances. To be caught on the sorrowful wheel is part of the personal price that the statesman-idealist has to pay. It is more blessed to be imprisoned for the sake of one's ideals than to imprison other people, incongruously, in the name of the same ideals. Nehru lived to have both experiences. This was the nemesis of taking over the responsibility for the government of a great country.

For Nehru himself, his political career, eminent though it was, was not, I believe, the most important thing in his life, because for him it was not an end in itself. For him it was a means of serving his fellow human beings—his Indian fellow countrymen in the first place, but not them alone, for his feeling for his fellows embraced the whole of mankind. Nehru has virtually said as much in more than one of his public utterances. He did care intensely for mankind's welfare and destiny, and his vision of this will be the thing in him for which he will be remembered by posterity if the verdict of history faithfully reflects the fundamental truth about him.

I find it difficult to pigeonhole this human personality in any of those impersonal categories in which historians deal. But if constrained to try my hand at this, I should say that Nehru served his fellow men most fruitfully and most characteristically by taking his place in a series of interpreters and mediators between the civilization of the West and the other living civilizations. In modern times the West has been confronted with the choice of coming to terms with it or being hopelessly overwhelmed by it. Conversely, the West is now finding that it, for its own part, has to come to terms with the non-Western majority of the human race. We seem, in fact, to be in the birth throes of a new society embracing the whole human race, with all the manifold and contradictory traditions of its formerly segregated sections. This seems to be the goal towards which the last four or five hundred years of the world's history have been leading. If this diagnosis is correct, the role of interpretation and mediation is the key role in the present age. It is a more important role than the mere statesman's and, in fact, some of the most effective of the interpreters have done their work outside the political arena. They have done it as scholars, writers, artists, poets and prophets. Nehru was one of those who have played this part on the political stage, and, among the statesmen—interpreters of one civilization to another, one can distinguish more than one type. There is the ruthless sergeant-major who dragoons his troops into putting themselves through the excruciating process of cultural mutation; and there is the seer who inspires his followers to tread the same painful path voluntarily. Famous representatives of the first of these two types were Peter the Great, Mohammed Ali, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, and in a rather more deft and light-handed way, the authors of the Meiji Revolution in Japan.

Jawaharlal Nehru is evidently a representative of the type that moves mankind, not by coercion, but by persuasion; and the other representatives of this kind of leader who first come into my mind are all Indians, like Nehru himself. One of them is the Emperor Ashoka, who was converted, by his experience of life, from being a coercionist into becoming a missionary, but who did his lifework, throughout, on the political stage. The other two whom I think of first are Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, and of course Jawaharlal Nehru's master and mentor, Mahatma Gandhi.

This is the company to which Nehru belongs, and in which he deserves to be remembered and to be immortalised.

The Legacy of Nehru
1965

CHRONOLOGY

- ✓ 1889 Born on 14 November in Allahabad, the son of Motilal and Swarup Rani Nehru.
- ✓ 1905-7 Studied at Harrow School, Middlesex.
- ✓ 1907-10 Studied at Trinity College, Cambridge.
- ✓ 1910 Left Cambridge after taking the Natural Sciences Tripos. [Joined the Inner Temple, London, and qualified for the Bar.]
- ✓ 1912 (Returned to India. Started practising law in Allahabad High Court.)
Attended the Bankipore session of the Indian National Congress, as a delegate.
- 1916 Married Kamala Kaul on 8 February in Delhi.
Met M. K. Gandhi at the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress.
- 1917 Joined the Home Rule League.
Birth of daughter, Indira Priyadarshini, on 19 November.
- 1918 Elected member of the All-India Congress Committee.
- 1919 Assisted C. R. Das in collecting evidence regarding the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in connection with the Congress Inquiry Report.
- 1920 Joined the Non-Cooperation Movement.
Attended the special session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta, 4-8 September.
- 1921 Arrested in Allahabad on 6 December for taking part in the boycott of the visit of the Prince of Wales to India.
- 1922 Released on 3 March. Arrested on 11 May on a charge of organizing picketing against the sale of foreign cloth.
- 1923 Elected Chairman, Allahabad Municipal Board. Resigned in January 1925.

Arrested, along with K. Santhanam and A. T. Gidwani, at Jaito on 21 September for defying an order banning entry into Nabha State. Released on 4 October.

Elected General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee at the Congress session in Delhi in September. Held this office from 1923 to 1925.

Helped N. S. Hardiker in the formation of the Hindustani Seva Dal. Presided over its first conference at Cocanada in December.

- 1927 Attended, as the representative of the Indian National Congress, the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities held at Brussels, 10–15 February. Visited the Soviet Union in November.
- Moved the resolution on Independence at the Madras session of the Indian National Congress on 27 December.
- 1928 Organized, along with S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Subhas Chandra Bose, and others, the Independence for India League in August.
- Participated in the All-Parties Conference held at Lucknow under the presidentship of Motilal Nehru, and assisted its Committee in preparing the Nehru Report.
- Presided over the All-Bengal Students' Conference in Calcutta on 22 September.
- Took active part in the boycott of the Simon Commission. Was *lathi-charged* at Lucknow on 29 November.
- Presided over the Bombay Presidency Youth Conference at Poona, 12–13 December.
- Moved amendment to M. K. Gandhi's resolution on 'Dominion Status' at the Subjects Committee of the All-India Congress Committee at the Calcutta session of the Congress on 27 December reiterating the demand for 'Complete Independence'.
- Presided over the first All-India Socialist Youth Congress held in Calcutta on 27 December.
- 1929 Presided over the tenth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress at Nagpur, 28 November–1 December.
- Presided over the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress, 29–31 December.
- 1930 Published *Letters From a Father to His Daughter*.
- Participated in the Salt Satyagraha. Arrested on 14 April. Released on 11 October.
- Arrested on 19 October for speech made in favour of no-tax campaign.
- First letter of *Glimpses of World History*, 26 October.

- 1931 Death of Motilal Nehru on 6 February.
Arrested on 26 December for breach of an ordinance prohibiting him from leaving the municipal limits of Allahabad. Released on 30 August 1933 on account of his mother's illness.
- 1934 Published *Glimpses of World History*.
Toured Bihar in January after the earthquake and helped in the relief work.
Arrested on 12 February for the speeches he made in Calcutta and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Released on 12 August on parole.
Returned to prison on 23 August. Released on 3 September 1935.
- 1936 Death of Kamala Nehru, 28 February, in Lausanne, Switzerland.
Published *An Autobiography*.
Presided over the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress, 12-14 April.
Published *India and the World*.
Presided over the Faizpur session of the Indian National Congress, 27-8 December.
- 1938 Death of Swarup Rani Nehru, 10 January.
Visited Spain, France, Britain and some other European countries.
Presided over the Conference on Peace and Empire in London, 15-16 July.
Started, along with Purushottam Das Tandon, Acharya Narendra Deva and others, the *National Herald* from Lucknow in September. Was Chairman of its Board of Directors from 1938 to 1946.
Appointed Chairman of the National Planning Committee of the Indian National Congress.
- 1939 Presided over the All-India States' People's Conference at Ludhiana on 15 February.
Visited Ceylon in July and China in August-September.
- 1940 Published *China, Spain and the War*.
Chosen as the second satyagrahi in the Individual Satyagraha. Arrested on 31 October for the speeches he made in Gorakhpur.
- 1941 Released on 4 December.
Published *The Unity of India*.
- 1942 Met Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek who were on a state visit to India and held discussions with them on 10-11 February.
Held talks with Sir Stafford Cripps in March-April.

- Moved the 'Quit India' resolution on 7 August at the All-India Congress Committee meeting, which was passed on 8 August. Arrested on 9 August. Released on 15 June 1945.
- 1944 Began writing *The Discovery of India*, 13 April.
- 1945 Appeared, as a lawyer for the defence, at the trial of the Indian National Army officers in November.
- 1946 Published *The Discovery of India*.
Visited Singapore in March.
Held talks with members of the British Cabinet Mission in April-June.
Elected President of the Indian National Congress in May. Resigned on 23 September.
Arrested at Domel on 20 June following the defiance of a ban by the Jammu and Kashmir Government on his entry into the State. Released on 21 June.
Joined the Interim Government on 2 September as Member for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, and was nominated Vice-President of the Viceroy's Executive Council.
Moved the 'Objectives Resolution' in the Indian Constituent Assembly on 13 December.
- 1947 Presided over the Indian Science Congress in Delhi on 3 January and delivered inaugural address at almost all its sessions till 1963.
Delivered inaugural address at the annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in New Delhi on 3 March and addressed its annual meetings every year till 1963.
Inaugurated the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi on 23 March.
Broadcast to the nation on 3 June accepting the British Government's plan for the transfer of power to India.
Moved the resolution on the 'National Flag' in the Constituent Assembly on 22 July.
Became the first Prime Minister of free India on 15 August and also held the portfolio of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations and Scientific Research.
- 1948 Attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in October.
Addressed the session of the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on 3 November.
- 1949 Inaugurated a conference of eighteen nations to condemn the Dutch aggression on Indonesia in New Delhi on 20 January.
Visited the U.S.A. and Canada, 11 October-7 November.

- 1950 Became Chairman of the Planning Commission on 28 March. Held this office till his death.
Nehru-Liaquat Agreement on minorities signed in New Delhi on 8 April.
Visited Indonesia, 7-16 June.
- 1951 Elected President of the Indian National Congress and held this office till 1954.
- 1952 Formed new Government in May after the first General Election.
Inaugurated the first Community Development Project on 2 October at Alipore village, Delhi.
- 1954 Talks with Chou En-lai held in June, and joint statement issued on 28 June listing the five principles (Panchsheel) for the regulation of relations between nations.
Visited China, Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos in October-November.
- 1955 Moved the 'Socialistic Pattern of Society' resolution at the Avadi session of the Indian National Congress, 21-3 January
Attended the Asian-African Conference held at Bandung, 18-24 April.
Visited the U.S.S.R., 7-23 June.
Visited Yugoslavia, 30 June-7 July.
Visited Cairo, 11-12 July. Held talks with President Nasser.
'Bharat Ratna'—the highest national award—conferred on him by the President for his endeavours in the cause of peace on 15 July.
- 1956 Participated, along with President Nasser of Egypt and President Tito of Yugoslavia, in a conference held at Brioni from 18 to 19 July to discuss coexistence and the need for disarmament.
Attended the Colombo Powers' Conference held in New Delhi from 12 to 14 November to discuss the international situation with specific reference to the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression on Egypt and the Soviet intervention in Hungary.
Visited the U.S.A., 16-21 December.
- 1957 Formed new Government in April after the second General Election.
Visited Japan, 4-13 October.
- 1958 Published *A Bunch of Old Letters*.
- 1959 Moved a resolution on planning and advocated co-operative farming at the session of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur, 9-11 January.
Visited Nepal, 11-14 June.

- 1960 Nehru-Chou talks held in April for easing the Sino-Indian border tension.
Visited Turkey, 20-4 May.
Visited Pakistan, 19-23 September. The Indus Waters Treaty signed in Karachi on 19 September.
Addressed the United Nations General Assembly in New York on 3 October.
- 1961 Attended the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations held in Belgrade, 1-6 September.
Visited the U.S.S.R., 6-11 September.
Convened, jointly with Lal Bahadur Shastri, the National Integration Conference in New Delhi on 28 September.
Visited the U.S.A., 5-14 November.
Addressed the United Nations General Assembly in New York on 10 November.
- 1962 Formed new Government in April after the third General Election.
Visited Ceylon, 13-16 October.
- 1963 Dedicated the Bhakra Dam to the nation on 22 October.
- 1964 Fell ill during the sixty-eighth session of the Indian National Congress held at Bhubaneswar in January.
Died on 27 May in New Delhi. Cremated on the banks of the Yamuna, at a place now known as Shanti Vana.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

Part I. *Tributes*

- TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN Prime Minister of Malaysia from 1957 to 1970
- MULK RAJ ANAND Novelist and critic; former Chairman of the Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi
- A. APPADORAI Honorary Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
- YASSER ARAFAT President of the State of Palestine, and Commander-in-Chief of the Palestinian Revolutionary Forces
- ARUNA ASAF ALI Played a prominent part in the Freedom Struggle; former Mayor of Delhi, and President of the World Peace Council
- RICHARD S. ATTENBOROUGH British actor, producer and director; directed the film 'Gandhi'
- BALDEV SINGH Professorial Fellow, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi
- ANU BANDYOPADHYAYA Worked with Mahatma Gandhi
- JYOTI BASU Chief Minister of West Bengal; Member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)
- M. H. BEG Was Chief Justice of India, and Chairman of the Minorities Commission (d.1988)
- SHYAM BENEGAL Film-maker; producer of the television serial of Jawaharlal Nehru's *The Discovery of India*
- BHARAT RAM Industrialist; former President of the International Chamber of Commerce
- BENAZIR BHUTTO Prime Minister of Pakistan
- BIPAN CHANDRA Professor, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
- RUSKIN BOND Writer of short stories and books for children
- BOUTROS BOUTROS GHALI Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs
- WILLY BRANDT Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1969 to 1974
- MICHAEL BRECHER Professor, Department of Political Science, McGill University; author of a biography of Jawaharlal Nehru

GEORGE BUSH President of the United States of America

JAMES CALLAGHAN Baron Callaghan of Cardiff; Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1976 to 1979

NIKHIL CHAKRAVARTTY Editor of *Mainstream*, New Delhi

SUKHAMOY CHAKRAVARTY Chairman of the Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister and of the Indian Council of Social Science Research

S. CHANDRASEKHAR Distinguished Service Professor at Chicago University; recipient of the Nobel Prize for Physics, 1983

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA Poet and writer; former Member of Parliament

KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA Played an active part in the Freedom Movement; known for her contribution to the revival and promotion of handicrafts (d.1988)

NORMAN COUSINS Adjunct Professor, University of California; former editor of the *Saturday Review*, New York; among his books is *Conversations with Nehru*

A. K. DAMODARAN Fellow, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library; served as Ambassador to Italy and Sweden

AMAURY DE RIENCOURT Historian; author of *The Soul of India*

P. N. DHAR Was Director of the Institute of Economic Growth, University of Delhi, and Secretary to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi

DHARMA VIRA Was Principal Private Secretary to Jawaharlal Nehru; later became Cabinet Secretary to the Government of India and Governor of West Bengal

UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT Senior leader of the Congress Party; former Minister in the Union Cabinet

R. R. DIWAKAR Formerly Minister of Information and Broadcasting, and President of the Gandhi Peace Foundation

RAIF DIZDAREVIC President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

KARTAR SINGH DUGGAL Writer and broadcaster

G. C. DUTT Was Security Officer to Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi

R. C. DUTT Former Secretary to the Union Government

SUBIMAL DUTT Was Secretary to the President and Ambassador to the Soviet Union

SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY Socialist leader; former Member of Parliament; politician and writer

ASGHAR ALI ENGINEER Social activist and reformer; Director, Institute of Islamic Studies, Bombay

MICHAEL FOOT Leader of the British Labour Party from 1980 to 1983; journalist and writer

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH Economist and writer; Emeritus Professor, Harvard University; was Ambassador to India

E. V. GANAPATHI IYER Held important positions in the administration of the former State of Mysore

GOPAL SINGH Governor of Nagaland; former Member of Parliament; writer

MIKHAIL S. GORBACHEV President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

PAULOS MAR GREGORIOS Metropolitan of Delhi and the North; President, World Council of Churches

JOHN GRIGG Journalist and writer

R. N. GURTU Former Judge of the Allahabad High Court; member of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

S. NURUL HASAN Historian; former Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University; was Education Minister in the Union Government; now Governor of Orissa

EDWARD HEATH Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1970 to 1974

K. K. HEBBAR Painter; former Chairman of the Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi

PAMELA MOUNTBATTEN HICKS Daughter of the late Earl Mountbatten of Burma

EDMUND HILLARY Mountaineer, with Sherpa Tenzing, the first to scale Mt Everest; former New Zealand High Commissioner to India

LORD HOME OF THE HIRSEL (Sir Alec Douglas-Home) Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1963 to 1964

KAMAL HOSSAIN Former Foreign Minister of Bangladesh

IQBAL SINGH Writer, journalist and political activist

ALI SARDAR JAFRI Urdu poet

CHEDDI JAGAN Former Prime Minister of British Guiana (now Guyana)

J. R. JAYEWARDENE President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka from 1978 to 1989

R. N. KAO Former Senior Adviser in the Cabinet Secretariat

KARAN SINGH Was Sadr-i-Riyasat (Head of State of Kashmir); former Minister in the Union Cabinet; now Indian Ambassador to the United States

R. K. KARANJIA Editor, *Blitz*, Bombay

SUBHASH C. KASHYAP Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha

P. N. KATJU Former Judge of the Allahabad High Court

T. N. KAUL Was Foreign Secretary of India, also represented India in the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union

KENNETH D. KAUNDA President of the Republic of Zambia

MAZHAR ALI KHAN Editor, *Viewpoint*, Lahore

CORETTA SCOTT KING Civil Rights leader in the United States; wife of the late Martin Luther King, Jr

MILOSLAV KRÁSA Of the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; Chairman, Indian Committee, Czechoslovak Society for International Relations

BRUNO KREISKY Federal Chancellor of Austria from 1970 to 1983

V. R. KRISHNA IYER Former Judge of the Supreme Court of India

MANFRED LACHS Judge of the International Court of Justice at The Hague; Polish lawyer and academician

LEE KUAN YEW Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore

LATA MANGESHKAR Celebrated singer of popular music

FEDERICO MAYOR Director-General of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

M. G. K. MENON Scientific Adviser to the Prime Minister of India; Member of the Planning Commission

YEHUDI MENUHIN Violinist, conductor; recipient of the Nehru Award for International Understanding

CHARLES MORAZE Director of the Institute for the Study of Social and Economic Development, University of Paris

- MONIQUE MORAZE French academic with long association with Indian studies
- HIREN MUKERJEE Former Member of Parliament, belonging to the Communist Party of India; author of a biography of Jawaharlal Nehru: *The Gentle Colossus*
- AMRIT LAL NAGAR Hindi scholar and writer
- NAGENDRA SINGH Was Secretary to the President of India; Judge of the International Court of Justice at The Hague (d. 1988)
- E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist); former Chief Minister of Kerala
- B. R. NANDA Historian; former Director of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
- C. D. NARASIMHAIAH Former Professor, University of Mysore; was Chairman of the Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies
- C. V. NARASIMHAN Former Under-Secretary General of the United Nations
- V. K. NARAYANA MENON Was Director-General, All India Radio; Chairman, Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi
- K. NATWAR-SINGH Minister of State for External Affairs to the Government of India
- B. K. NEHRU Was Ambassador to the United States and High Commissioner to the United Kingdom; former Governor of the Reserve Bank of India
- DOROTHY NORMAN American writer; author of *Nehru: The First Sixty Years*
- B. N. PANDE Former Governor of Orissa; was active in the Freedom Movement
- APA B. PANT Former Ruler of Aundh; Indian High Commissioner to Kenya and the United Kingdom
- ACHYUT PATWARDHAN Was active in the Freedom Movement; a leader of the Socialist Party
- JAVIER PÉREZ DE CUELLAR Secretary-General of the United Nations
- PHAM VAN DONG Former Prime Minister of Vietnam
- CHRISTIAN PINEAU Was Foreign Minister of France from 1956 to 1958
- MIR QASIM Member of Parliament; former Minister in the Union Cabinet
- RAJA RAO Novelist; former Professor of Philosophy at the University of Texas in Austin

- C. RAJESWARA RAO General Secretary, Communist Party of India
- G. RAMACHANDRAN Was Vice-Chancellor of Gandhigram University; former President of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi
- N. G. RANGA Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in Parliament
- V. K. R. V. RAO Economist; former Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University; was a Member of the Planning Commission and a Minister in the Union Cabinet
- RENUKA RAY President of the Women's Co-ordinating Council, Calcutta; Member of Parliament from 1957 to 1967
- E. S. REDDY Political activist in South Africa
- B. K. ROY BURMAN Anthropologist and writer
- K. F. RUSTAMJI Former Special Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs; and Member, National Police Commission
- SADIQ ALI Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya; former Governor of Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu
- SHANTI SADIQ ALI President, African Studies Society of India
- VISHNU SAHAY Former Cabinet Secretary to the Government of India; later, was Governor of Assam and a Member of the Planning Commission (d.1989)
- SALIM AHMED SALIM Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of Tanzania
- MRINALINI SARABHAI Choreographer and exponent of Bharata Natyam
- MOHIT SEN Former Member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India
- LEOPOLD SEDAR SENGHOR President of Senegal from 1960 to 1980; recipient of the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding
- MAHMOODA ALI SHAH Member of the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly
- MANJU SHARMA Chief (Science), Planning Commission; and Scientific Secretary in the Office of the Scientific Adviser to the Prime Minister
- NORODOM SIHANOUK Head of State in exile of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea; former King of Cambodia
- BALMIKI PRASAD SINGH Joint Secretary in the Union Ministry of Steel and Mines

- SOLI J. SORABJEE Constitutional lawyer; former Solicitor-General of India
- K. SUBRAHMANYAM Director of the Institute of Defence Studies, New Delhi
- C. SUBRAMANIAM Former Minister of the Union Cabinet
- G. S. TALWALKAR Editor, *Maharashtra Times*, Bombay
- TARLOK SINGH Former Member of the Planning Commission
- MARGARET THATCHER Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
- JAN TINBERGEN Economist; recipient of the Nobel Prize for Economics, 1969
- BADR-UD-DIN TYABJI Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University from 1962 to 1964; former Ambassador to West Germany and Japan
- ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE Member of Parliament and leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party
- ANTON VRATUSA Honorary President of the International Centre for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries, Yugoslavia
- JIGME SINGYE WANGCHUK King of Bhutan
- MOHAMMAD YUNUS Former Indian Ambassador to Spain and Algeria; Member of Parliament
- FIDEL CASTRO RUZ President of the Republic of Cuba

Part II. *Reflections and Recollections*

- MAHATMA GANDHI (1869–1948) Regarded by Jawaharlal Nehru as his mentor
- SHEIKH MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH (1905–1982) Was Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir
- CLEMENT ATTLEE (1883–1967) First Earl Attlee; Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1945 to 1951
- S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIKE (1899–1959) Prime Minister of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) from 1956 to 1959
- HOMI J. BHABHA (1909–66) Physicist; First Chairman of India's Atomic Energy Commission
- ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE (1895–1982) Gandhian philosopher, social reformer and leader of the Bhoodan (land gift) movement
- FENNER BROCKWAY (1888–1988) British Labour leader and writer

- WINSTON CHURCHILL (1874–1965) Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1940 to 1945; and 1951 to 1955
- ÉAMON DE VALERA (1882–1975) Irish revolutionary and patriot; Prime Minister of Ireland and President from 1959 to 1973
- ILYA EHRENBURG (1891–1967) Soviet novelist
- ALBERT EINSTEIN (1879–1955) Outstanding physicist, expounder of the Theory of Relativity; advocate of peace
- KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN (1890–1988) Popularly known as the Frontier Gandhi; a prominent leader of the Freedom Movement
- ZAKIR HUSAIN (1897–1969) President of India from 1967 to 1969
- JAGJIVAN RAM (1908–86) Was Deputy Prime Minister of India
- JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN (1902–79) Gandhian social thinker and political revolutionary; founder of the Praja Socialist Party
- K. KAMARAJ (1903–75) Chief Minister of Madras; President of the Indian National Congress
- JOHN F. KENNEDY (1917–63) President of the United States from 1960 to 1963
- MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR (1929–68) American Civil Rights leader and winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace
- LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI (1904–66) Prime Minister from 1964 to 1966
- HAROLD J. LASKI (1893–1950) British political scientist and member of the Labour Party
- EARL MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA (1900–79) The last British Viceroy of India
- GILBERT MURRAY (1866–1957) Professor of Greek at Oxford
- SAROJINI NAIDU (1899–1946) President of the Indian National Congress; Governor of Uttar Pradesh; poet
- GULZARI LAL NANDA (b.1898) Political and trade union leader, Minister in the Union Cabinet; briefly held the office of Prime Minister
- GAMAL ABDEL NASSER (1918–70) Leader of the Egyptian revolution; Prime Minister from 1954 to 1956; President from 1956 to 1970
- KWAME NKRUMAH (1909–72) First President of Ghana

- GOVIND BALLABH PANT (1887–1961) First Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh; Home Minister in the Union Cabinet
- VALLABHBHAI PATEL (1875–1950) A major figure in the Freedom Movement; Deputy Prime Minister of India after Independence
- S. RADHAKRISHNAN (1888–1975) Philosopher and statesman; Vice-President of India from 1952 to 1962; President from 1962 to 1967
- C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (1879–1972) Was prominent in the Freedom Movement; Governor-General of India; founder of the Swatantra Party
- RAJENDRA PRASAD (1884–1972) Was President of the Indian National Congress; first President of India, holding that office from 1952 to 1962
- B. C. ROY (1882–1962) Prominent nationalist; Chief Minister of West Bengal from 1948 to 1962
- BERTRAND RUSSELL (1872–1970) Mathematician, philosopher, author and anti-war activist
- ADLAI E. STEVENSON (1900–65) American statesman
- RABINDRANATH TAGORE (1861–1941) Poet, philosopher, social reformer, awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, 1914
- U THANT (1909–74) Secretary-General of the United Nations from 1961 to 1971
- JOSIP BROZ TITO (1892–1980) President of Yugoslavia from 1953 to 1980
- ARNOLD TOYNBEE (1889–1975) Historian and philosopher, author of the classic five volume *A Study of History*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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We are grateful to the President of India for permitting the reproduction of the portrait of Jawaharlal Nehru by Finagenov and the portrait of Gandhi and Nehru by Chaganlal in Rashtrapati Bhawan. We thank the Speaker of the Lok Sabha for permission to reproduce the portraits by Elizabeth Brunner and Edward Halliday in the Committee Rooms of Parliament House as well as the portrait by Svetoslav Roerich in the Central Hall of Parliament. We also thank the artists whose paintings have been reproduced in this volume.

An undertaking of the magnitude of this volume could not have been accomplished without the co-operation of a large number of people, too many to be named individually; we would, however, like to make special mention of the Implementation Committee Secretariat for their untiring efforts in putting together the manuscript, and the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library for their help with reference and research.

We regret that the tribute from President Fidel Castro Ruz arrived too late to be included in alphabetical sequence; it has therefore been placed at the end of the Tributes section.

